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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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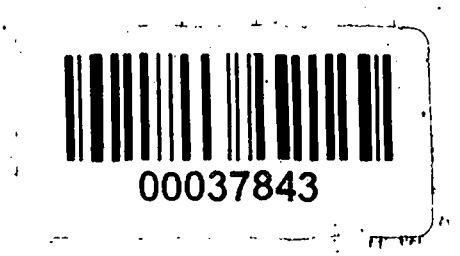
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In consequence of the events which had taken place in Sicily, Octavius found himself at once at the conclusion of a hazardous war, and master of all the forces which had been employed in it, whether as friends or as enemies. His fleet now consisted of near six hundred galleys, with storeship[illegible]

sports; his land army of forty-five legions, which, though supposed to be incomplete, may have amounted to above two hundred thousand men. To these he joined above fifteen thousand horse and twenty thousand irregular infantry. They had been levied for different masters, and in different parts of the empire, and were originally of different conditions, slaves, as well as freemen; natives of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa; mixed with Gauls, Italians, and Roman citizens: adherents of Cæsar and of Pompey, of Antony, of Octavius or Lepidus. It was very difficult to dispose of an assemblage, consisting of such various and discordant parts. The troops that came over from Sextus Pompeius or Lepidus, were to be retained by indulgence and favours; and those who had been the early support of Cæsar's fortunes, had peculiar merits: all were sensible of their own consequence, and even of a power to dispose of the empire.

Octavius saw the necessity of separating such an army into different quarters, before any cabals should be formed, and before any mutinous spirits had leisure to work on their minds, or to inspire them with dangerous hopes or pretensions. That they might part in good humour, he made a distribution of money, in token of his gratitude for recent services; and promised a great deal more. But what he now gave appeared to be contemptible, when compared with the rewards which had been formerly given at Mutina and at Philippi; and still more when compared with the settlements late[illegible] in Italy. Th[illegible]

corded, as the standard by which every legion had formed its expectations; and a general dissatisfaction was apparent in every rank and division of this motely assemblage. Octavius for some time affected to be ignorant of their discontent, and would have proceeded to make the arrangements he had planned for separating them, and for placing the legions in quarters remote from each other; but he had reason to dread that his orders would not be obeyed, and still remained in suspense. When his knowledge of the mutinous spirit which prevailed in the army could no longer be dissembled, he endeavoured to sooth the most clamorous by additional marks of his favour, consisting chiefly of public honours; badges of military service to the men, and the title of Senators bestowed on many of the officers. In distributing these favours, he assembled the army, and made a speech, setting forth the nature of the honours which he now conferred, and his farther intentions respecting the rewards which he meant to bestow. "*These are baubles*," said a Tribune, named Offilius, interrupting him; "*children only are amused* "*in this manner; but men, who have exposed them-* "*selves in the service of their general, expect to be re-* "*warded with lands and settlements**." This voice of the Tribune was seconded by the clamours of the whole army. The general retired from the field in some disorder; and, sensible of the danger to which he had exposed himself, from this time forward never ventured to meet these troops in a body, but em-

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 13, 14.

ployed what secret arts he could devise in removing the heads of the mutiny.

The Tribune Offilius, who had dared to interrupt his commander in such mutinous terms, whether won by favour, or taken off by violence, was secretly disposed of. The legions who had served at Mutina and Philippi, amounting to twenty thousand men *, being separately appeased by donations and promises, were prevailed upon to accept of their discharge from the service, and, without any farther disturbance, to depart from the island.

When this part of the army was removed, Octavius affected to consider those who were gone as the sole cause of the late discontents; and *the guilty*, he said, being thus separated from the innocent and from the deserving, he made an additional present in money to those who remained, and held out the hopes of convenient settlements, and of plentiful fortunes, at the final expiration of their time in the service. By these artifices, and prudent measures, he effected the proposed separation, and extricated himself from a danger which frequently arises in the sequel of civil wars, and threatens the victor with an overthrow, from that very engine which he had employed to raise his own fortunes.

Octavius, before his departure from Sicily, ordered a contribution to be levied in the island, of sixteen hundred talents †; and being no way disposed to follow out the plan of Lepidus, in the annexation of [illegible]rovince of Africa, he appointed sepa-

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[illegible]ius, lib. vi. 4

rate governors to each. Having dismissed the ships which Antony had furnished in the war, with instructions to wait at Tarentum for the orders of their own superior, he himself passed into Italy.

The messengers who had been sent with accounts of the victories obtained by Octavius in Sicily being arrived before him at Rome, all ranks of men vied with one another in the applause which they bestowed on his conduct, and in celebrating the occasion with demonstrations of joy. In the name of the Senate and People, who had no longer any real political concessions to make, a variety of flattering proclamations were issued, ordering, in honour of the victor, statues, triumphal arches, processions, wreaths of laurel, anniversary rejoicings, and immediate thanksgivings, to be prolonged beyond any former time assigned to such festivals. When he approached to the city, multitudes of every rank, adorned with chaplets, went forth to receive him, and conducted him in solemn procession to the temple, in which he was to perform the sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return.

This successful adventurer, on the day after his arrival, proclaimed the peace now obtained by the reduction of Sicily; and in two separate harangues, of which he gave copies in writing, one addressed to the Senate, the other to the People, he gave an account of his conduct, from the date at which he had assumed the administration of the government, to the present time. And, agreeably to the dictates of that masterly judgment with which he now, at last, began to conduct the interests of his ambition.

he chose this period of victory and prosperity as the proper occasion on which to exhibit the effects of his clemency, of his moderation, and of his disposition to spare those who, being supposed disaffected to himself, were now in his power. He remitted all the arrears of taxes that were any where due within his jurisdiction, either by farmers of the revenue or by private persons. Of the honours which were decreed to himself, he made choice of a few, and declined such as were in any degree invidious or burdensome to the People.

The inhabitants of Italy, and Roman citizens in general, having, among other evils, suffered greatly during the civil war, by the desertion of their slaves, who were eagerly received, and enrolled with the levies which were continually forming by different parties; Octavius took this opportunity, as far as it was in his power, at once to repair the loss which had been sustained by the master in the desertion of his slave, and to purge the army of a dangerous class of men, by whom it was overcharged and contaminated. In order to remove them in a manner that should prevent any disturbance on their part, he sent to every legion a sealed order, to be opened on a certain day, bearing, that all who had been in the condition of slaves should be secured; that as many as were claimed should be restored to their masters; and that the remainder should be put to death. According to this order, it was reported that thirty thousand were remitted to servitude [illegible] were slain *

* Oros. lib. vi. c.

The author of this severe, but well-concerted reform, now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, had, by accommodating himself, on every occasion, to his circumstances, and by successively availing himself of the support of different parties, more especially by courting the military retainers of his late uncle, set himself above the civil constitution of his country; and now, by affecting a regard to property, to civil rank, and to the peace of his fellow-citizens, was about to make the army itself dependent on his will. From the impression which he made by this policy, as well as from adulation and fear, the people were still further incited to load him with public honours, and had his effigy carried at Rome, and in every country town of Italy, among the idols of their tutelary gods.

The advantage now gained by Octavius, in the acquisition of armies and provinces lately in possession of Lepidus or Sextus Pompeius, were sufficient to have alarmed the jealousy of his remaining colleague in the empire, if this vigilant rival had not been engaged, at this time, in a very hazardous enterprise beyond the frontier of his own provinces.

Antony, during his stay in Italy or in Greece, while he was chiefly attentive to the event of affairs in the western provinces, had intrusted the Parthian war to his Lieutenant Ventidius. This officer acquitted himself with great honour in the discharge of his trust, recovered the province of Syria, which had been overrun by the Parthians, and drove them back beyond the Euphrates. Upon this account, he

was judged worthy of a triumph, and came into Italy to receive this honour.

In the mean time, Antony was eager to gather the laurels which yet remained in this field, or was even supposed to be jealous of the victories gained by his own lieutenant over an enemy, who, till then, scarcely had yielded any advantage to the Roman arms. After his last visit to Italy, he had in the winter passed to Corcyra, and so far was attended by Octavia, but parted with her there, in the prospect of this arduous service: early in the spring he continued his voyage to the East. Upon his arrival in Asia, notwithstanding the respect that was due to his alliance with Octavia and her brother, it soon appeared that he was still under the dominion of former passions. He already had two children by the Queen of Egypt, who were named Alexander and Cleopatra, but whom the mother likewise distinguished by the pompous appellations of the Sun and the Moon. Being prevented by the urgency of the service, at this season, from making a visit at Alexandria, he sent thither an officer of rank, Fonteius Capito, to conduct Cleopatra from her own kingdom into Syria; and having received her in that province, in his way to the Euphrates, among other marks of his liberality, and of his passion, instead of trinkets and tokens of love, he made her a present of Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, Cyprus, and some part of Cilicia, to be annexed to her kingdom. It was concerted betwixt them, that, when [illegible] was over, he should pass the winter in [illegible] hey parted with mutual expressions of [illegible] the return of this happy season.

The army, now mustered by Antony, consisted of sixty thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, thirty thousand irregulars, being an assemblage of horse and foot, and of different nations. While he advanced with this force towards the Euphrates, he made his demand, that the Parthians should restore the captives and military ensigns taken with Crassus*. This was become a point of national honour among the Romans, and, joined to the late provocation, was made the ground of the present quarrel.

Antony had undertaken this invasion of the Parthians in concert with the king of Armenia; and finding, at his arrival on the Euphrates, all the passages of the river, contrary to his expectation, strongly guarded, he continued his march towards the country of his ally, having the Euphrates on his right. When he arrived in the Lesser Armenia, the season was too far advanced to effect the service he had planned against the Parthians; but having intelligence that the Medes, or people of the Greater Armenia, had joined the enemy against him in the preceding part of the war, he formed a design on Praaspa or Phraata†, the capital of their country. In hopes of taking this place by surprise, he passed the Euphrates, leaving his heavy baggage and engines, with a guard of two legions, under the command of Statianus. With the remainder of the army he penetrated into the kingdom of the Greater Armenia, and presented himself at the gates of the capital.

* Plut. in Anton. † Ibid. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix, c. 26, 27, 28.

This was a place of great strength, and every necessary precaution had been taken for its safety. The Roman general found that it could not be taken by assault, and the Parthians, although they hastened to its relief, knowing that the Romans had come altogether unprepared for a siege, suffered them at first to remain before it undisturbed. They directed their whole force against Statianus, whom, with the two legions he commanded, they surprised and cut off, and by this means made themselves masters of all the equipage and baggage which had been left under his keeping.

Antony, upon the first alarm of the enemy's intention to attack Statianus, having left the greater part of his forces before Praaspa, marched with a strong detachment to support him: but coming too late, found the field covered with the slain of the Roman legions, without either friend or enemy in sight. He understood that Artavasdes, the King of Armenia, to whose alliance he trusted in the present war, had remained an unconcerned spectator of this disaster; and he made no doubt that he was betrayed by this pretended ally, but thought proper for the present to disguise his resentment. The loss he had sustained made it necessary for him to think, not of revenge, or of conquest, but of extricating his army from its present situation. Being alarmed for the safety of that part of it which he had left before Praaspa, he, with hasty marches, returned to its relief; but, at his [illegible] no enemy near, and still flattering [illegible] town might be obliged to surrender, [illegible]it, by its spoils, make up for the loss

of his baggage, he continued before it, until he had exhausted all the provisions and forage which were to be found in the neighbouring country; and, in proportion as the other difficulties of his situation increased, began to feel himself harassed with the sallies of a powerful garrison, and the frequent attacks of numerous parties of Parthians in the field. These began to act against him from every quarter, and made it equally difficult for him to decamp, or to subsist on his present ground.

Under these difficulties, the Roman general was frequently obliged to divide his forces; and leaving part to awe the town, marched with the remainder to cover his foragers, and the providers of his camp. As the enemy, in order to diminish the range from which he received his provisions, pressed upon him from every side, he saw the necessity of hazarding a battle; and with this resolution, he marched from his camp with ten legions, three Prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry. The Parthians affected to abide his attack, but gave way at the first onset, and fled with every appearance of route and confusion: they were pursued by the Roman infantry for fifty stadia, or about six miles, and by the cavalry over a hundred and fifty stadia, or about eighteen miles.

In this action, Antony flattered himself that he had put an end to his troubles from the Parthians; but, on numbering the prisoners and the slain, he found that only eighty of the enemy were killed, and thirty taken; and on returning to his camp before the town of Praaspa, he found, that without being at all disconcerted by what had happened to them,

they were returned to their former stations, and took measures, as before, to harass his camp, and to circumscribe his foraging parties. From this specimen of a victory such as the Parthians afforded, he learned to despair of being able to gain any advantage over an enemy, whose defeats were more pernicious to their antagonists than they were to themselves *. To complete his mortifications, he found that the garrison of Praaspa had made a powerful sally in his absence, had driven his guards from their approaches; and destroyed all the works he had constructed against the town †. Judging it vain to renew his attack, or to remain any longer in his present situation,

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* Among the Romans who were seized with the passion of making offensive war on the Parthians, Julius Cæsar is mentioned. And it is a problem, which never can be solved, in what manner this able statesman and warrior would have acquitted himself in so arduous a task. The Parthians had their haunts beyond the Tigris; and besides leaving no means on the frontier by which an enemy could subsist in approaching them, probably presented no hold by which they themselves could be seized, even in their own country. As they had no ground which it was absolutely necessary for them to defend, so there was no ground on which an invader could be secure from their attacks. They gave way while an enemy advanced, and reckoned it an advantage to draw him far from his resources and his supports. They waited with patience, till time, hardships, disease, or want of provisions, had rendered him an easy prey, or ripe for destruction; and they then pressed upon him with a ferocity and ardour, which abundantly corrected any belief of their cowardice that might have been taken from their manner of receiving his first attacks.

If Cæsar had not already conceived some new or uncommon means of reducing them, it is probable, that his first observations would have satisfied him, that he could not conquer such a people, although he might, in time, have settled a new nation on the Tigris to supplant them; and it is probable that he would have availed himself of some of their ordinary flights, to lay claim to a victory, and [illegible] with more facility than others of his countrymen, finish the war with a [illegible]

he sent a deputation to Phraates, probably rather to conceal his intended purpose of flight, than with hopes to obtain any reasonable terms of peace.

The king of Parthia received the message of Antony, seated on a golden throne, and holding in his hand a bended bow, the emblem of war. In order to sound the intentions of the Roman general, he proposed, as a preliminary to peace, that the siege of Praaspa should be raised. Antony was prepared to decamp, as soon as his messengers should be out of the hands of the enemy, but instructed them to affect reluctance in agreeing to this condition, hoping that by these means he might conceal his intention, gain a few marches ahead, and reach the frontier of the Lesser Armenia, before the Parthians could take any advantage of his flight; but the king being still more refined in his artifices, already perceived, under the affected reluctance of consent to a measure which he knew to be necessary, a real intention to escape while the treaty was in agitation; and, in this apprehension, he had his cavalry in readiness to pursue the flying enemy, disputed every pass, hung upon their rear and upon their flanks, occupied all the springs of water, and laid waste the country before them.

Many of the Roman army, overcome by famine and fatigue, expired on the march; others had laid down their arms, and submitted to the enemy. But those who had surrendered themselves, being cruelly treated, served, by their example, to check the inclination of others to sue for quarter, and taught the soldier to look for safety only in perseverance, and in

the use of his arms. Antony himself, in every encounter, was prepared for the last extremity, and had a person retained, with orders, in case of his being likely to fall into the enemy's hands, to end his life; or, in case he were killed in battle, to disfigure his body, that it might not be known. But he passed through all these difficulties, as usual, with uncommon constancy and valour, making, in twenty-one days, a march of three hundred miles *, under a continual attack of the enemy, in which, it is reckoned that his army was eighteen times engaged in battle †. At the end of this march, in reviewing the legions with which he began his retreat, it was found, that he had lost about a fourth of their number ‡; or, as Plutarch states his loss, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

It appears that Antony, in his retreat through the Lesser Armenia, left a considerable body behind him in that country, to check the farther pursuit of the enemy §; and with the remainder of the army, proceeding from thence with great precipitation, and under great hardships from the season, by which he added eight thousand men more to his former losses, he arrived at Comi, a small sea-port, between Berytus and Sidon, on the coast of Syria. At this place he was received by Cleopatra, and having embarked with her on board the Egyptian fleet, effected his passage by sea to Alexandria, where he endeavoured to conceal his losses,

U. C. [illegible] L. Cornelius, [illegible] Pomponius

* Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxix, &c.
† Plut. in Antonio.
‡ Vel. Pater. lib. ii. c. 82.
§ Dio. Cass. lib. xlix, c. 30.

and to efface the memory of his sufferings in the midst of dissipation and pleasure.

While these events were yet in suspense, or unknown, the state of the war in Asia had been variously reported in the western parts of the empire. It was believed for some time, that the Roman army in Armenia, with its leader, had perished. And on this supposition, Sextus Pompeius, who still remained in the island of Lesbos, began to resume his views of ambition. He was not without hopes, that on the demise of Antony, the armies of Asia might declare for himself, and, during some time, affected to receive every person who repaired to him, as if he were yet the head of a party, and of great consideration in the empire. He even proceeded to solicit the alliance of many princes in the East, from Thrace to Pontus, and the banks of the Euphrates *. But upon the report of Antony's return into Syria, he laid aside his ambitious thoughts, and sent a message to sue for protection. Among other particulars, he set forth, that he had committed himself to the justice and clemency of Antony, not from despair, or from any sudden impulse whatever, but from previous thought and mature deliberation. He might have had a safe retreat, and a powerful support, he said, in Spain, where the friends of his father were yet numerous, and full of zeal; but from a thorough conviction, that the interests of Antony were the same with his own, he had preferred his alliance to any other. "Octavius," he continued, "will soon have

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

" the same quarrel with you, that he has lately had " with me, and afterwards with Lepidus. He con- " siders the whole empire as his property, and cannot " endure a partner. His open force is not so dan- " gerous, as the insidious professions, and the artful " disguises, with which he hides his designs. I make " you an offer of a friendship that is sincere, and of " a faith that is yet unbroken. I made you the same " offer, while I was master of Sicily and Sardinia, " and in the height of my fortune. By accepting of " it, you will save the remains of a family, yet re- " spected by the Roman People; and, by joining " with me, you will gain the accession of a party, " whom even adversity has not made to a[illegible] ministra- " leader."

While Sextus Pompeius addressed himself to Antony in these terms, he endeavoured to preserve the appearance of an armed force, and hovered about with some ships on the coast of Ionia. Being pursued by Titius, who had orders from Antony to observe his motions, he sailed up the Propontis, and put into the harbour of Nicomedia. Here he again offered to negociate *; but being told that he must surrender at discretion, he set fire to his ships, and attempted to escape by land. Having passed into Phrygia, he was taken in his flight, and soon after, by order of Antony, was put to death.

This event being known at Rome, Octavius ordered public rejoicings. Among these was a solemn procession, led by two carriages or chariots of state: in

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlviii. c. 18.

one of them, Octavius himself appeared; by the other, he marked the place that was due to Antony. Still farther, to sooth the jealousy of this dangerous colleague in the empire, he gave orders that a statue should be erected to him in the Temple of Concord, and that he should have a share in all the honours which had been recently decreed to himself. This indecent triumph over the last of a family, which had been so long in high estimation at Rome, was far from being acceptable to the People. The misfortunes of the young man himself, who from his earliest years had been an exile, and stript of his inheritance, the memory of his father and of the repub-

Oct. lic, affected the minds of men with secret indignation, and with a tender melancholy which they could not disguise; and though Octavius himself escaped on this occasion without any public insult, yet Titius, some time afterwards exhibiting public shows in the theatre of the great Pompey, was, on account of the part which he had taken in the murder of the son, driven from thence by the execrations of the People *.

The forces of the empire were now parcelled in two separate lots, under the direction of masters, who were soon to entertain the views and the jealousies of separate monarchs. Octavius, become the sovereign of Rome, was occupied chiefly in removing obstructions to his own government, and in consolidating the arrangements he had made in the State. He had taken measures to repress many disorders, the

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 79.

dregs of the civil wars, which still afflicted the city and the contiguous provinces. He had brought his armies under tolerable discipline, and even in a great measure reconciled the People to the loss of their own political consequence, and of their liberties. He affected to destroy, with much ostentation, all papers and records from which those, who had acted against himself, might fear being drawn into trouble. He retained the usual names, and the forms of office; and wherever he himself was to exercise any uncommon stretch of authority, he talked of it as a mere temporary expedient to obviate the disorders of the times; and spoke of his joint intention with Antony to discontinue every irregular mode of [redacted] tion, as soon as the war with the Parthians should be brought to a period. He even sent a messenger into the East, with open and public instructions, to concert with his colleague the manner and time of their resignation *.

Antony, in the mean time, acting as sovereign of the eastern empire, appeared, on his part, to be altogether intent on the entertainments of the court at Alexandria, on the renewal of the war which he professed to meditate against the Parthians, or on his project against Artavasdes, the king of the Lesser Armenia, who he thought had betrayed him in his late expedition. He was encouraged in his designs on that quarter, by the offers of alliance which were made to him from the king of Media, who thinking his services, during the late invasion, ill requited by

* Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. v.

the Parthians, was now disposed to take arms against them.

Antony having accepted of this alliance, formed the project of a new invasion of Armenia, chiefly intent on his design to get the person of Artavasdes into his power; but he was, for one season, diverted from the execution of his purpose, by an incident which brought into the scale of public deliberations and councils the weight of passions and of motives at all times powerful; but at a time when the world was to be governed by the humours of a few persons, scarcely to be balanced by any other consideration whatever.

Octavia was become impatient of the neglect with which she was treated by her husband, and jealous of the preference which he gave to Cleopatra. Hearing that he was to leave Alexandria on a new Parthian expedition, she determined to place herself in his way as he passed through Syria. To enhance the pleasure of their meeting, she was furnished with a variety of presents, and, among the rest, attended by a body of two thousand chosen men, clothed and accoutred in the manner of the Prætorian bands, which had been formed by her brother for the guard of his own person, and which he now sent as a token of friendship to Antony. She was arrived in Greece with this attendance, when her intention became known in Egypt*.

On hearing of this journey of Octavia, Cleopatra, being greatly alarmed, had the address to appear sunk

* Dio. Cass. lib. xxxiii. Plut. in Antonio.

under the weight of affliction, which she at the same time affected to bear with fortitude; but was sometimes surprised in tears, which she endeavoured to dry up or conceal, and either increased the anguish of real passion, or by her affectation of a desire to suppress what she felt, gave more an air of sincerity to her dissimulation. Her health, in appearance, declined, and it was whispered, that her life was in danger. She herself continued obstinate in her silence; but her confidents insinuated, that the fear of losing Antony was the cause of her distress, and that the day he left Alexandria would probably be the last of her life. Thus, with a mixture probably of artifice and real passion, not uncommon in cases of this sort, the Queen of Egypt had the address to retain Antony at Alexandria, and prevailed on him to send a peremptory order to Octavia, not to advance in her intended progress to the East. He excused himself, at the same time, from even accepting the presents which she brought from her brother *.

Upon the return of Octavia to Rome, under all the circumstances of this affront, her brother proposed that she should renounce her connection with Antony, and remove from his house; but if in this he wished her to act from resentment, her own conduct, though proceeding from a different motive, was better calculated to unite the People in avenging her quarrel. Being willing to wait the return of her husband's inclinations, she remained at the head of his family, continued to manage his affairs, and

* Plut. in Antonio.

acted in every particular as the mother of his children, even of those by a former marriage, and undertook the protection of such adherents and friends as came to solicit their affairs in the capital *.

The unworthy treatment which Octavia received in return for so much duty, as it interested the public in her favour, so it gave to the world an immediate prospect of a breach between the leaders, who now divided the empire. Antony and Octavius had been rivals for the succession to Cæsar's power, and had frequent quarrels, which were suspended from time to time by apparent and ambiguous reconciliations. Even the marriage of Octavia was no more than a mere expedient to put off, to a more convenient time, a final breach, which, between parties of such opposite pretensions, must in the end be deemed unavoidable.

It is probable that Octavius, in all the vicissitudes of his connection with Antony, or with any other party, had never lost sight of the expectations he had formed from his earliest youth, not only as the heir of Julius Cæsar, but as the successor likewise to his power in the commonwealth. He united or broke with different parties, according to the state of his affairs; and procured these breaches or coalitions in the precise conjunctures that were most favourable to himself. He at one time joined with the Senate, and the assassins of his uncle, to pull down the power of Antony. He afterwards joined with Antony, to reduce the Senate, and to destroy the republic. He

* Plut. in Antonio.

courted Antony occasionally, to prevent his forming any dangerous combination with Sextus Pompeius or with Lepidus; and, in general, kept terms with him, while either of these leaders continued to be formidable, or could cast the balance by uniting against him.

But this refined politician, upon becoming sole master of Italy, and of the western provinces, was now better enabled, than formerly, to brave the power of his remaining competitor in the empire; and he prepared for a contest, which could not be prevented nor long deferred. He had greatly reduced his own military establishment, by purging his armies of improper subjects; not only the armies which had come over to him from his antagonists, Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus, but those likewise which had been levied in common between Antony and himself. But, even after he had thus dismissed such as were of doubtful fidelity, and reduced his establishment to that measure which he wished to maintain, he had still remaining a greater force than his avowed occasions seemed to require; and he sought for pretences, under which, in the present state of tranquillity to which his division of the empire was reduced, he might avoid giving any alarm to his rival, and justify his maintaining so great a military power. For this purpose probably it was, that he formed the project of a war first in Africa; towards the execution of which, he himself actually passed into Sicily; and being there some time detained by contrary winds, he affected to change his object, and sent the army destined for Africa to the

opposite side of Italy, beyond the Hadriatic, to make war on the Japydes, Savi, Panonii, and other nations on the confines of Illyricum. These were more likely than the Africans to furnish his troops with the experience of real service, as well as himself with a plausible pretence for keeping such an army on foot. They accordingly penetrated, by his orders, beyond the frontier of the empire on that quarter, and were employed to gather laurels at the expence of the barbarians, by whom, they alleged, that his provinces had been often infested.

U. C. 719. L. Scribonius Libo, M. Antonius absens. L. Sempronius Atratinus. Ex Kal. Julii. Paul. Æmilius, C. Memius. Ex Kal. Novem. M. Herennius.

In the mean while, according to the arrangements which had been made relating to the succession of Consuls, Antony was elected into this office; and though not present in person on the first of January, had his name entered on the record. In accepting of this nomination, the sovereign of the East meant no more than to ascertain his right to dispose of the Consulate, and had given a commission, by which, on the very day of his admission, he vacated the office in favour of another; and in consequence of successive resignations and appointments, brought forward a number of his friends in the course of the year. He wished by these means to make known, that although Octavius was pleased to occupy the seats of government; yet he was not to engross for his friends and retainers the ordinary honours of State which were to be dispensed in the capital.

The young Cæsar, probably treading as nearly as he could in the steps of his late uncle, still sought

for occasions to keep his armies in service; and, although he was not inclined to make war abroad, or make new acquisitions of territory to the empire, yet he still affected to have many designs which required the possession of a great military force. Among these, he projected an enterprise for the reduction of Britain, made the necessary preparations, and proceeded himself to the northern parts of Gaul. Here, however, he pretended his attention was again diverted to a different object. Having an army employed on the side of Illyricum, in separate divisions, under Agrippa and other officers, Messala and Geminus, whose names only are known, it was reported, that the division under Geminus, acting in Panonia, had received a check, and had been obliged to retire from some parts of the country they had formerly occupied. Upon this alarm, Octavius gave out that his design upon Britain was suspended, by dangers from a different quarter, to which he repaired; and finding, upon his arrival in Illyricum, that fortune had changed in his favour, the enemy in different encounters defeated, and the former ground of his army recovered, he himself joined Agrippa, who was employed against the Dalmatians, and continued for some months to take a part in the campaign with this favourite officer *.

Antony, at the same time, as if equally concerned to have an army inured to service, sought likewise for occasions of war; and having quieted the jealousies of Cleopatra, by a seemingly irreconcilable

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlix. c. 39.

breach with her rival, was permitted to form projects of enterprise beyond the limits of Egypt. He accordingly renewed his designs against the kings of Armenia and Parthia. In the spring, he advanced to Nicopolis, a place so named, from the victory of Pompey over Mithridates; and supposing that the treachery of Artavasdes, in betraying Statianus, would justify any measures he could take against such a traitor, he sent repeated messages, under pretence of friendship, desiring a conference; but with a real intention of seizing his person. The more effectually to remove all suspicions of any such design, he proposed a marriage between Alexander, one of his own sons by Cleopatra, and the daughter of that prince; but not succeeding in this artifice, he laid aside his disguise, advanced into the heart of Armenia, and threatened to lay the kingdom waste with fire and sword. The king being unprepared for defence, took his resolution at last to try the sincerity of Antony's former professions, and was actually taken.

The first advantage which the Roman general proposed to make of this capture, was exacting a ransom; and for this purpose, the king, being carried round the fortresses in which the royal treasure had been deposited, was made to demand great sums of money under this pretence; but the officers, to whom this demand was addressed, knowing that their sovereign was a prisoner, shut their gates against him, and refused to comply. The army of Armenia at the same time assembled, and considering the throne as vacant, placed upon it Artaxes, the eldest son of

their captive king. Being led by this young prince into immediate action with the Romans, they were defeated, and he himself was obliged to take refuge with the Parthians.

Antony, contented with this victory, which gave him possession of the country, put his army into winter quarters in the Lesser Armenia, and entered into a defensive treaty with the king of Media, whose daughter, upon that occasion, was betrothed to the same son of Cleopatra, whose proposed marriage with the daughter of Artavasdes had been employed as a snare to betray that prince.

At the conclusion of these transactions, Antony set out on his return to Egypt, and meditating a triumphal procession into the city of Alexandria, destined his captive for a part in the scene, gave orders that he should be conducted thither in chains; and accordingly, upon the arrival of the troops and the equipage which were to form his retinue, he made his entry with all the parade of a Roman triumph, repeated all the forms which were usual on such occasions at Rome, made a speech to the People, and ordered a public feast. These several particulars seeming to place the inhabitants of Alexandria upon a foot of equality with the Roman People, and prostituting what was esteemed a solemn institution of the Romans to the vanity of a barbarous court, gave much scandal and offence at Rome. Every circumstance being exaggerated by his enemies, his own extravagance gained a ready belief to every report that was circulated against him.

It has been observed, on different occasions, that

Antony, although he stemmed the current of adversity with vigour and ability, was generally carried by prosperity into every excess of sensuality, extravagance, and dissipation. In this time of festivity, he assumed, in the midst of his debauch, not only the eastern dress, and all the badges of royalty, but likewise * the attire and designation of a god; wore the buskins, the golden crown, and the chaplet of ivy belonging to Bacchus, held the Thyrsus in his hand, and was drawn through the streets of Alexandria on a car, like one of those which were employed in the processions of the gods †. It was said, that Cleopatra at the same time assumed the dress of Isis; that being seated together on thrones of gold, elevated on a lofty platform, Antony presented Cleopatra to the People, as Queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewise of Africa and Cœlesyria, and that he associated with her in those titles, Cæsarion, her supposed son by Julius Cæsar. To his own son Alexander, in these drunken assignments of empire, it was reported that he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which, though not in his possession, he considered as a certain conquest: to Ptolomy, another of his sons, he allotted Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia ‡; and presented each of these sons to the People in the dress, and with the ensigns and the retinue suited to their several destinations; Alexander, with the Persian tiara; and Ptolomy,

* Florus, lib. iv, c. 11. Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 5.

† Vel. Pater. lib. ii, c. 83. ‡ Dio. Cass. lib. xlix, c. 41.

with the robe and diadem worn by the princes of Macedonia.

This mock distribution of the eastern kingdoms was executed in formal deeds or writings, of which copies were ordered to Rome, to be deposited in the records of the Temple of Vesta, and in the keeping of the Virgins. And as Octavius looked forward to an immediate quarrel with Antony, the circumstances with which these acts had been solemnized at Alexandria were industriously published at Rome to his prejudice. The original writings, however, not being brought to the city until the subsequent year, in which Domitius and Sosius, the friends of Antony, were Consuls, part of the scandal was for some time suppressed by the influence of these magistrates, who were inclined to favour Antony against Octavius in the impending contest for empire.

While Antony indulged himself in these extravagancies at Alexandria, Octavius, with L. Volcatius Tullus, assumed the title of Consuls at Rome; but the first, at his admission, thought proper to follow the example which had been recently set to him by Antony; on the first of January vacated the office, and substituted another in his place. By like successive substitutions, he communicated this dignity in the course of the year to six different persons.

U. C. 720. Imper. Cæsar iterum. L. Volcatius Tullus.

P. Antronius Paetus. Ex Kal. Maii. L. Flavius.

Ex Kal. Jul. C. Fonteius.

M. Acilius Aviola. Ex Kal. Sept. L. Vinucius.

Ex Kal. Oct. L. Lavonius.

The office of Ædile, which had been generally declined on account of the expence which attended the discharge of it, and which had been for some time discon-

tinued, was now revived in the person of Agrippa, who, though he had been already of a higher rank, and even in the station of Consul, voluntarily, and at his private expence, undertook the duties of Edile; and while he applied himself to the more serious objects of the trust, by constructing highways, and procuring other public accommodations, more particularly by cleansing the common sewers, works of great antiquity, that seemed to exceed the force of the times to which they were referred *, he repaired the Circus, made new regulations for conducting the entertainments of that place, and himself exhibited magnificent shows.

Under this magistracy of Agrippa, the People were gratified with presents, as well as with pastimes. Articles of finery, trinkets, and even sums of money, were distributed by a species of lottery. Counters or billets, entitling the bearer to certain prizes, which were marked upon each, were thrown out by handfuls to be scrambled for in the crowd. Public baths, furnished with all the usual apparatus, were provided, and attended with keepers and dressers at the public expence †; acts of munificence and popularity, in which it was already thought proper to cultivate the popular favour, and in which, as in many other instances, this able usurper set an example to his successors.

Octavius at the same time, on so near a prospect of a quarrel with Antony, who was to employ half

* Plinius, lib. xxxvi, c. 15.

† Dio, Cass. lib. xlix, c. 43.

the forces of the empire against him, took care to disengage himself from every other war. That which he carried on in Dalmatia, terminated in the submission of the people, in their giving hostages for their good behaviour, and in their restoring the colours which had been taken from a Roman army they had defeated under the conduct of Vatinius. These he hung up in a portico, which bore his own name; but a triumph being decreed to him, he declined or deferred to accept of it; on this, as on many other occasions, discovering a mind, though fond of dominion, indifferent to pomp, and the exterior appearances of power.

Antony passed the summer at the head of his army in Syria, without having made any actual attempt against the Parthians. He renewed his defensive alliance with the king of Media; and the parties in this treaty being to name the powers against whom they respectively wished, in the event of a war, to secure an alliance, the king of Media made particular mention of the Parthians, and Antony named Octavius. At the end of this negotiation, they mutually made an exchange of some troops *.

Thus Antony made no secret of the distrust which he conceived of his colleague in the empire, or of a breach, which, from their mutual jealousies and provocations, was gradually widening. He affected to treat Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, as the legitimate heir of the Julian family. He likewise retorted on Octavius the artifice which

* Dio. Cass. lib. xlix, c. 44.

had been practised against himself, by professing an intention to resign the power of Triumvir. He complained of the violence which had been done to Lepidus; but asked, if Lepidus were justly deposed, why he himself was not admitted to his share in the vacated provinces? He complained of his being excluded from a share in the spoils of Sextus Pompeius, as well as of Lepidus; and of his being excluded from Italy, which was the common seat of government to the whole empire, and which Octavius had not any right to appropriate to himself.

To these complaints Octavius replied, That Antony, without making any compensation to his colleagues in the western provinces, had seized on the kingdom of Egypt; that he had unwarrantably put Sextus Pompeius to death; that he had dishonoured the Roman name, by his breach of faith with the king of Armenia, and had given no account at Rome of the spoils of that kingdom; that he had presumed to dismember the Roman empire in behalf of Cleopatra, and of her children; and that he abetted her in the attempt to intrude into the family of Cæsar with one of her spurious progeny *.

These mutual complaints were publicly made, and supported at Rome. Neither of the parties professed any intention of going to war; but, under various pretences, collected money, and augmented their forces. They held a continual correspondence, by agents and messengers, merely to have an opportunity of ob-

* Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 1.

serving each other's motions; and soon involved in their disputes and jealousies, not only their own immediate retainers and friends, but such as now composed the Senate or the assemblies of the People, and who could not remain unconcerned spectators in a difference between persons who were likely again to involve the empire itself in a civil war.

U. C. 721. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caius Sosius Ex Kal. Jul. L. Cornelius. Ex Kal. Nov. U. Valerius.

Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Caius Sosius, having, in consequence of preceding arrangements, succeeded to the Consulate, and being attached to Antony, openly espoused his cause. Sosius, on the first of January, in entering upon office, ventured to arraign the conduct of Octavius, enumerated the injuries which he had offered to Antony, and moved the Senate for redress.

Octavius, having previous intimation of what was to be moved by the Consul, and wishing to know the full extent of the charge before he should be obliged to reply, on that day absented himself from the Senate; but took care to have Nonius, one of the Tribunes of the People, prepared to watch over his interest, and to put a negative on any proceeding that might be attempted to his prejudice. At the next assembly of the Senate, he appeared in the quality of Triumvir, with a numerous body of armed men, seated himself between the Consuls, from that place made his answer to the accusations which, in the former meeting, had been lodged against him, and retorted much blame on his enemies. He called upon Antony, in particular, to return into Italy, and to resign

the Triumvirate; the period for which that temporary power had been created being now expired *.

To this defiance on the part of Octavius, no reply being made by the friends of his rival, the assembly was adjourned for some days; during which time, both the Consuls, being declared partisans of Antony, thought proper to withdraw from the city; and not supposing themselves safe within the jurisdiction of a person against whom they had taken so hostile a part, continued their retreat into Asia, where the other Triumvir, whose cause they espoused, had the means to protect them.

Octavius, pleased to find himself, by the flight of the ordinary magistrates, left master of the city, and freed from the necessity of immediate recourse to arms against the forms of the commonwealth, gave them no interruption, nor attempted to prevent their escape. He even gave out that these officers had withdrawn by his permission, and that every one else who was disposed to join his antagonist might follow their example †.

Antony, when he received an account of what was thus passing at Rome, being arrived in the Lesser Armenia, on his last expedition into that country, assembled all the Senators of his party who were then with the army, laid before them his grounds of complaint against Octavius, renounced in form his marriage with Octavia, and declared war on her brother ‡. At the same time, he took a solemn oath, in which he bound himself, at the end of six months after he

* Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxii. † Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 2. ‡ Ibid. c. 5

should have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to restore the government entire to the Senate and People, agreeably to the ancient constitution. Having taken this method to gain all those who wished for the restoration of the commonwealth, and having remitted great sums of money into Italy, to be dealt out in presents and gratuities to conciliate those who were opposed to him *, instead of pursuing the pretended object of the war in Armenia, he put his army in motion westward. Having Canidius advanced with sixteen legions, he himself conducting the queen of Egypt, who was to have her share in the enterprise, took the route of Ephesus, where all his ships were ordered to assemble. Of these he had eight hundred sail, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred completely equipped, together with twenty thousand talents in money †.

The Consuls Domitius and Sosius having joined Antony at Ephesus, and finding all his councils governed by the caprice of Cleopatra, and all his measures made subservient to her vanity or interest, warmly recommended that the Queen of Egypt should return into her own kingdom, and there remain until the war should be at an end; but she, dreading the loss of her influence, the restoration of Octavia, and a reconciliation of parties, to which her pretensions, interests, and passions, must be the first sacrifice, employed all her artifice to defeat their counsel, and to maintain her ascendant over Antony. For this purpose, with more care and assiduity than that

* Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 7. † Plut. in Antonio. near three millions Sterling.

with which she mustered the forces of her allies, or collected the resources of her own kingdom for the support of the war, she assembled from every quarter the means of dissipation, and the allurements of pleasure.

Many Roman officers, who had hitherto embarked their fortunes with Antony, disgusted by the appearances of levity and dissipation which attended him on this occasion, withdrew from his cause, and threw themselves into the arms of his enemy. Plancus, in particular, with Titius, long dissatisfied with the influence and conduct of Cleopatra, deserted him. They brought with them into Italy particular accounts of Antony's levity, and of Cleopatra's insolent speeches, insinuating, that she flattered herself with the hopes of becoming mistress of the Roman empire. They produced copies of Antony's will, already mentioned as having been sent to the records of the Vestals, and which, by its extravagance, procured credit to every other report which was raised to his prejudice, so much as to make it believed, that if he should prevail in the contest with Octavius, he meant to declare Cleopatra Queen of the Romans, and to transfer the seat of the empire to Alexandria.

These reports, tending to render Antony an object of ridicule or of scorn, were propagated with great effect among the People. They were even introduced in the Senate, and employed as the pretence for a motion that was made to divest him of his present command in the East, and of that share of the sovereignty which he held in the capacity of Triumvir, and to declare him incapable of holding the office of

Consul, to which he was destined for the ensuing year.

Plancus, in support of the motion that was made to this purpose, urging, together with the reports now mentioned, the manifold disorders which were imputed to Antony, and the many offences he had committed against the commonwealth, was answered, with great courage and asperity, by persons who still ventured to espouse the cause of the absent Triumvir. "While you were of his councils," said Coponius to Plancus on this occasion, "I doubt not "but the conduct of Antony was sufficiently blame-"able *."

Octavius, however, being master at Rome, the motion was carried, and a decree was obtained, in consequence of it, to suspend Mark Antony in the exercise of all his powers. War at the same time was formally declared against the Queen of Egypt; while Octavius, with his usual discretion, to avoid making enemies, unnecessarily, of those who must have been involved with Antony in any personal attainder, did not include him in this declaration. A proclamation, however, was made, "requiring all citizens to with-"draw themselves from Antony, as being abandoned "to the caprices of a stranger, and a woman, who, "by a kind of fascination, led him in her train, and "prevailed upon him to countenance, against his "own country, a war which was to be conducted by "the eunuchs Mardio and Pothinus, keepers of the "palace of Alexandria; and by Ira and Charmion,

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 83.

" the waiting-women of Cleopatra, who hoped soon " to reign in the capital of the Roman empire, as ab- " solutely as they had for some time governed in the " provinces of the East *."

In the sequel of these declarations, some taxes; for the expence of the war, were laid on the inhabitants of Italy; an uncommon stretch of power, which, on the approach of an enemy so likely to divide the People, appeared to be impolitic and dangerous. All freed slaves, having two hundred sestertia or upwards, were required to pay an eighth of their effects; free citizens were required to pay a fourth of their yearly revenue; and these exactions being violently enforced, gave rise, in many places, to insurrection and bloodshed †: and the minds of men being greatly agitated, reports of presages and prodigies were circulated, as usual in times of great alarm, and on the eve of important events.

Antony, in the mean time, advanced with his fleet and army from Ephesus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where, together with the queen of Egypt, he was received with a flattering pageantry, and with many complimentary addresses; in composing which, this people now exercised that ingenuity for which they were formerly celebrated in conducting matters of state and of war. Cleopatra was admitted to the freedom of the city of Athens. Antony being already a citizen, led the procession, in which the heads of the republic came to confer this honour on the

* Plut. in Antonio. † Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 10.

queen; and made her a speech in name of his fellow-citizens, the Athenian people.

From thence this formidable armament was conducted round to the island of Corcyra, where all the forces of Asia and Egypt were assembled, and seemed to threaten Italy with an immediate invasion. Antony had undoubtedly got the start of his antagonist, might have surprised him, and divided against him the inhabitants of Italy, and other parts of the western empire. Of these, numbers were discontented on account of recent exactions; many were disposed to favour the absent party, or, from animosity to a government under which they had experienced oppression, were desirous of any change.

With all these advantages in his favour, Antony either never had the intention to invade Italy in the present season, or laid it aside, and determined to pass the winter in Greece. He sent his fleet into the gulph of Ambracia, and quartered his army in the Peloponnesus, or round the gulph of Corinth, where, besides the ordinary resources of the contiguous country, they had continual supplies of every necessary by sea, and from every port within the eastern bounds of the empire.

By the last arrangement which had been concerted with the existing Triumvirs, for the succession of Consuls during eight years, of which this was the last, they themselves were now to have entered on the office; but Antony being set aside by a public act of the Senate and People, Octavius assumed for his colleague Messala, already mentioned as the

U. C. 722. Imper. Cæs. Mar. Val. Messala Corsinus. Ex Kal. Mart. M. Titius. Ex Kal. Oct. Cn. Pompeius.

remaining friend of Marcus Brutus. This almost only surviving partisan of the republic had been among the proscribed, but was afterwards taken into favour, and had accordingly dropped all unavailing opposition to the successor of Cæsar *.

Octavius, now holding the office of Roman Consul, endeavoured to sink, under this designation of a legal magistrate, his pretensions as a military adventurer, and qualified the troops, which he employed against Antony, as an army of the commonwealth, assembled to repel the attack of a foreign enemy. In virtue of his consular authority, he drew these forces together on the coast of Apulia, and while he stationed the greater part of the fleet in two divisions at Brundisium and Tarentum, sent Agrippa with a squadron to ply off the harbours of Greece, and to interrupt the naval communications of the enemy with any of the ports from which they were supplied.

By the vigilance and activity of Agrippa, many captures were made in the winter, and the conveyance of corn, arms, and military stores, from Asia, Syria, and Egypt, intended for the use of Antony's fleet and army †, was rendered difficult and extremely precarious. To supply their necessities, both his sea and land forces were obliged to plunder the country around them; and, in the want of horses and carriages, drove the inhabitants, like beasts of burden, laden with corn and other provisions, to the sea-coast. Antony, when he joined his fleet at Actium, being told that half his rowers had perished

* Dio. Cass. ut supra. † Oros. lib. vi, c. 19.

from famine or disease: "*The oars*, he said, *I hope*, "*are safe* *."

In the mean time, Octavius brought his land forces to Brundisium and Tarentum; and, either to shew the strength of his party, or to make sure of the persons of whose fidelity he entertained any doubt, summoned a great number of Roman citizens of note to attend him there, at the general muster of his forces. From thence, in order to profit by Antony's delay, and to fix the theatre of the war in Greece, he embarked with his army, and stood for the opposite coast of Epirus. He landed under the promontory of Acroceraunus, the same place at which Julius debarked in pursuit of the war with Pompey; and from this place, ordering the fleet to coast round the headlands and the island of Corcyra, he marched with the army along shore towards the gulph of Ambracia.

This gulph opens into the channel that separates the islands of Corcyra, Leucada, and Cephalonia. It is narrow at its entrance †; but is wider within ‡, and stretches eastward‖ about twenty or thirty miles. At its opening, on the southern shore, stood Actium, and opposite to this place stood Toryné, afterwards called Nicapolis. Antony had taken possession of Actium, and having a proper harbour in the gut, commanded the interior navigation of the gulph.

Octavius, advancing with his fleet and army from the northward, and having no opposition made to

* Oros. lib. vi, c. 19. † About half a mile, or five stadia.
‡ One hundred stadia.
‖ Stretches inland three hundred stadia. Polyb. lib. iv, c. 63.

him by the enemy, took possession of Toryné, intrenched himself in a strong post on shore, and stationed his fleet behind him in a creek, which furnished a harbour sufficiently safe *.

Antony, already posted on the opposite side of the gulph, either did not think himself in condition to prevent the enemy from making this lodgment in his presence, or, determined by some other motive, chose to act on the defensive; and thus the armies were stationed, Octavius in Epirus, and Antony in Acarnania, on the opposite sides of the entrance to the gulph of Ambracia.

The state of the forces on each side is variously reported. Plutarch says, that in entering on the war, Antony had five hundred galleys, of which there were many mounting eight and ten tier of oars; that the land army, which had been transported by his fleet, consisted of a hundred thousand infantry, and twelve thousand horse; that Octavius had two hundred and fifty galleys, eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. Others place the superiority of these, probably exaggerated, numbers, on the side of Octavius, but state them as more nearly equal †.

As the Egyptian fleet still commanded the interior navigation of the gulph, Antony, after it was too late to disturb the enemy in making their lodgment at its entrance, seized a post, with a considerable part of his army, on their left, to restrain their excursions, and to cut off their forage. Octavius, on his part, detached Agrippa, with a powerful squadron, to make descents on the neighbouring coasts, to ravage the

* Plut. in Antonio. † Ibid.

towns which were in the possession of Antony, or to cut off the supplies that were brought him by sea.

According to these instructions, Agrippa took possession of Methoné, on the coast of Messenia, and of Patræ, near the mouth of the gulph of Corinth; entered that gulph, and made a descent near the city of Corinth; afterwards took possession of the promontory of Leucada, which lay in the course of Antony's convoys *, and obliged him, after a check he had received in the neighbourhood of Toryné by the defeat of the cavalry he employed on that side, to abandon his ground in Epirus, and to repass the straits to Actium.

In these operations passed the greater part of summer; but as nothing was decided, Domitius, who, in the preceding year, notwithstanding he was Consul, had left his station in the city to join Antony, now disgusted with his conduct, went over to Octavius. A general distrust ensued in the party †, and Antony, being distressed for want of provisions, saw the necessity of making his retreat, or of risking a general action. His fleet having suffered greatly in winter from scarcity and from disease, he deliberated whether he should not abandon his ships, and rest his cause on the event of a battle on shore ‡; but Cleopatra, who governed all his councils, and who dreaded being deprived of a retreat by sea, urged him, without delay, to set sail for Alexandria. She proposed, that, to check the progress of the enemy, proper detachments should be left to keep possession

* Vel. Pater. lib. ii, c. 84. † Ibid. ‡ Plutarch. in Antonio.

of all the strongholds in Asia and Greece; that these detachments should be supported from Egypt; and that Antony, in the mean time, should collect all the forces of Asia into that kingdom, and prepare to contend for the empire of the world.

The partisans of Cleopatra, in the councils of Antony, contending for this plan of retreat which she proposed, among other arguments against risking a battle, urged many fatal presages and signs of impending calamity, sufficient to strike a panic in the troops, and to render the flight they advised in some measure necessary. It was determined, however, as a kind of middle course, that the fleet should put to sea; and, if permitted, withdraw from the enemy; but, if attacked, give battle. As it was observed, that many of the ships were ill manned, or in disrepair, and some altogether unserviceable; these being selected and burnt, the remainder prepared for the sea.

When this resolution was taken, Antony called his officers together, put them in mind of the diligence with which he had made his preparations for the present war, and referred for proof to the armament itself, which was then in their view.—In a war, which was to turn on the event of naval operations, they had an undoubted superiority, he said, either in the number, or loftiness and strength of their ships.—He contrasted his own reputation, the maturity of his age, his experience, and his success, with the opposite circumstances in the description of his enemy.—He put his officers in mind, and wished them to remind the army, that they were about to contend

for the empire of the world; that great as this object was, the loss of it, if they failed, was to be the least of their sufferings; that every indignity and insult was to be expected from an enemy *, who, on former occasions, had shown himself sufficiently averse to mercy. Having addressed himself in this manner to the officers who were to be left on shore, he ordered on board all those who attended him in the character of Roman citizens, or of whose inclination to the enemy he had any suspicion, and reinforced his fleet from the land army with as many archers and slingers as could ply in the ships.

Octavius, in the mean time, having intelligence of these deliberations and counsels, and seeing the bustle which the embarkation of so many men from the land, and the movements of ships to get into their stations, occasioned, he likewise prepared for action. In his address to the officers of his fleet, he still affected to consider Cleopatra as the principal party in the war. "Antony had condescended," he said, "to "become her dependent and follower, and was now "preparing, not to fight, but to accompany the "queen of Egypt in her flight." In respect to the conduct of the action, he was inclined to let the enemy get under sail, and even to wait until they should have turned the promontory of Actium, thinking this would be the proper time for him, by pressing on their rear, to turn their intended retreat into a flight, and thus obtain the advantage and reputation of a victory, without the hazard of a battle; but

* Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 15—22.

being dissuaded from this design by Agrippa, he took his resolution to meet the enemy in front at the mouth of the Straits, and, if he prevailed, was in hopes he might put them out of condition to renew the war. For this purpose, he reinforced his fleet with as many men from the land as could conveniently act on board *.

After both fleets were in readiness, they were detained in their harbours four days by a storm, and a high sea which set into the gulph. But on the fifth day, the wind having abated, and the sea becoming smooth, Antony's fleet began to form in the Straits. He himself, with Poplicola, embarked with the first division on the right, Cælius on the left, and an officer, whom Plutarch names Marcus Octavius, with M. Justeius, in the centre †. His ships being heavier and loftier, but less active, than those of Octavius, he hesitated for some time whether he should not remain in close order, and endeavour to bring on the action in the narrow entrance of the gulph, where his antagonists, for want of room, could not derive any great advantage from the superior agility of their vessels, or quickness of their motions.

While Antony deliberated on this matter, Octavius got under sail, turned the head-land of Toryné, and formed in a line before the entry of the Straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right division was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa ‡. Both armies, at the same time, were

* Dio. Cass. lib. l, c. 23—30. † Plut. in Antonio.
‡ Vell. Pater. lib ii, c. 84.

drawn out on the shore to behold the event; but the fleets, for some time, did not make any movement; and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being still in the road, might not return to his anchors; but about noon, his ships began to clear the Straits, and came forward where the sea-room was sufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came closer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank; but Poplicola, on the other side, to keep pace with him, stretching to the same side, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged soon after, without any apparent advantage on either side.

The contest, for some time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the queen of Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and she herself continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, she gave orders to remove her galley to a greater distance, and being once in motion, fled with all the sail she could make: her vessel being distinguished by a gilded poop, and purple sails, made her flight be conspicuous to the whole fleet *, and drew away from the line about sixty ships of the Egyptian squadron, who, under pretence of attending their mistress, withdrew from the action.

Antony, apprehending the consequence of this defection, whether in despair of his fortunes, or in some hopes to rally those who fled, put on board of a quick sailing vessel, and endeavoured to overtake them,

* Florus, lib. iv. c. 11

Being observed from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board; but no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpose, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. Although he quitted the chance of a victory to follow the object of his passion, he could not endure to behold her, turned his eyes aside, threw himself upon the deck, and continued in the deepest anguish of shame and despair.

The flight of Antony, joined to that of Cleopatra, an event so little expected, was not for some time observed, and the fleet, notwithstanding the desertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered, many of the ships being greatly damaged in their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to resist or to escape, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Three hundred vessels were taken or sunk, and about five thousand men were killed *. The strand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies. Octavius detached a squadron in pursuit of such of the enemy's ships as had got to sea from the engagement; and himself continued in the channel during the remainder of the day, and the following night, to gather the immediate fruits of his victory †.

The land army of Antony having, from the heights on shore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp, as with an intention to maintain it to the

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* Plut. in Antonio. Orosius says, 12,000 were killed in battle; 6000 were wounded, of whom 1000 died under cure: lib. vi.

† Sueton. in Octavio.

last extremity. They flattered themselves, that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at sea, would make for the nearest port, and again shew himself at the head of his legions. These, they said, he never should have left, to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element, and a treacherous ally. In these hopes they remained for seven days unshaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being satisfied, however, at last, that their hopes were vain, they consulted their own safety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himself, who commanded them, withdrew in the night *; others, remaining together in small parties, took the route to Macedonia; but being pursued by the enemy, were separately overtaken, and persuaded or forced to surrender. All the Roman citizens who had taken refuge in the eastern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes who made a part of the vanquished army, successively made their peace †; and the empire itself now seemed to be reduced under a single head.

Antony, without appearing to recover his mind, having continued his flight by the coasts of the Peloponnesus to the head of Tenarus, made a halt at this place, rather from indecision and irresolution, than from any settled purpose respecting the conduct of his affairs. Here he was joined by some ships that made their escape at the end of the action; and being informed by them, that the fleet was entirely demo-

* Plut. in Antonio. † Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 1.

lished, but that the army continued firm in their camp, he seemed to be revived by this last part of the account, and dispatched an order to Canidius to make the best of his way into Macedonia, and from thence to continue his march into Asia. Such of his friends as came up with him at Tenarus, he treated with his usual liberality, divided his plate and jewels among them, and gave them orders, for the supplies they might want, on the keeper of his treasure at Corinth. In performing these acts of munificence, he seemed to recover his courage, and resumed some part of his usual manner; but returning at the same time to his former habits with Cleopatra *, he suffered himself again to be governed by her councils; and, in compliance with her desire, steered directly for Egypt, without making any attempt to rally his forces in Greece, or to join his army, which, in reality, by this time, had been separated, or obliged to make their peace with the victor.

Octavius having thus entirely dispersed, or gained to his own party, all the forces of his rival in Europe, sent such a division of his army into Asia as was thought necessary to finish the remains of the war, and destined the veterans, whose turn it was to be disbanded, to embark for Italy. He himself, in order that he might be at hand to observe the motions of Antony, and to renew his operations in the spring, proposed to pass the winter at Samos †. From thence, being master of a country in which his rival had once

* Plut. in Antonio.

† Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 3, and 4. Sueton. in Octavio, c. 17.

been favourably received, he exercised his power in punishing those who had taken any part against him. Many towns, by his order, were laid under heavy contributions, and deprived of their municipal privileges. All the petty princes who held their territories by grant from Antony, except Archelaus * and Amyntas †, were dispossessed. Alexander ‡, the son of Jamblichus, was not only stripped of his territories, but reserved in chains, to make a part in the procession of the victor's triumph; and when that ceremony should be over, was doomed to die. The principality of Lycomedes ‖ was given to a certain Mede, who had deserted from Antony, and who had brought with him a considerable body of the allies. The Cydonii § and Lampæi, on account of their particular services, were restored to their liberties.

Of the Roman citizens of rank who had espoused the cause of Antony, some were pardoned, some laid under heavy fines, and others put to death ¶. Among those who were pardoned, was Sosius the late Consul, who had absconded for some time after the battle of Actium, and remained in concealment, until, by the intercession of his friends, he made his peace. With him likewise is mentioned M. Scaurus, the uterine brother of Sextus Pompeius, who had been condemned to die, but spared at the intercession of his mother. Among those who were put to death, is mentioned Curio, the son of that Curio, who, in

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* King of Cappadocia. † Of Galatia. Dio. Cass. lib. xlix, c. 32.
‡ A prince of Arabian extraction. ‖ On the frontier of Pontus.
§ The people of certain towns of Crete. ¶ Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 2.

the steps which led to the civil war, acted for some time in support of the Senate, but afterwards so effectually served the ambition of Julius Cæsar *.

While Antony still possessed the kingdom of Egypt, or had any means of renewing the war, it was thought expedient that Octavius in person should reside in Asia. The administration in Italy was committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa; the first intrusted with the civil, the other with the military department; but acting under orders and instructions from Cæsar, which, though in form addressed to the Senate, were previously submitted to these ministers; and, after having received such alterations and corrections as to them appeared proper, were likewise intrusted to them for execution.

Agrippa, as has been mentioned, having borne his part in the victory at Actium, returned into Italy with a particular charge of the veterans, who were now entitled to their dismission, and to the reward of their services. He was chosen for this trust, as having sufficient authority to repress the mutinous spirit with which this order of men was actuated, as often as they were encouraged by victory to state their pretensions and to overrate their merits. The task, however, was too arduous even for the daring courage and unblemished reputation of this officer. The troops had been told, after the late action, that, on account of the state of Cæsar's finances, the reward of their services must be deferred to the end of the war: such of them as were destined to act in Asia

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 2.

and Egypt acquiesced in this delay, expecting to enrich themselves in the mean time with the spoils of those opulent countries *. But those who were sent back into Italy, expecting such settlements in that country as the veterans had formerly received, upon their arrival laid claim to immediate satisfaction, and complained that Cæsar, in employing his lieutenants, instead of attending himself, to treat with them, meant to evade their just demands.

In consequence of earnest representations from Mæcenas and Agrippa, stating these discontents of the veterans as of the most dangerous tendency, Octavius, after he had determined to fix his residence at Samos for the winter, set sail for Italy in the most tempestuous season, and in his passage was twice exposed to great danger; once in doubling the headlands of the Peloponnesus, and again near to the rocks of Acroceraunus. Being arrived at Brundisium, he was met by many of the principal citizens of Rome, together with the Senate and magistrates in a body, who, having committed the government of the city to the Tribunes, were come forward to receive him, and to pay their court. He likewise found the discontented veterans still at the same place, and obstinate in their purpose of not suffering themselves to be disbanded, or stripped of their arms, until they should have obtained their just gratification in money and alotments of land.

Octavius, having occasion for all the arts in which he was already so well versed, now affecting to hasten

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 3, 4.

what he alleged had been only delayed to a more convenient time, proceeded to make way for these mutinous troops, by dislodging many possessors of land, on pretence that they had favoured the queen of Egypt in the late war; and, in order to provide the intended gratuities in money, he affected to offer his own estates to sale, or proposed to pledge his effects as security for a loan. But no man having the courage to become either his creditor or the purchaser of his estates, he represented his having made the offer as a sufficient excuse to the army for the delay which he was still obliged to make in gratifying their just requests. But the riches of Egypt, he said, now forfeited by Cleopatra, would be an ample fund for the gratification of those who forbore their demands for the present, to have them more fully complied with hereafter *. Having, by these means, pacified the clamours of those who were most urgent; and having been, during his stay at Brundisium, vested a fourth time with the titles and ensigns of Consul, he set sail again for the coast of Asia, with intention to give Antony and Cleopatra as little time as possible to recollect themselves, or to reinstate their affairs.

U. C. 725. Imp. Cæs. 4to, M. Licinius Crassus, ex Kal. Jul. C. Antistius Vitus, ex Id. Sept. M. Tul. Cicero, ex Kal. Nov. L. Junius.

These unfortunate adventurers, whose arrival at the point of Tenarus has been mentioned, steered from thence for the coast of Africa, and parted from each other near to Paretonium, a sea-port of Lybia, which had been held by the kings of Egypt, as a

* Dio. Cass. lib. li. c. 4.

barrier at some distance beyond the western frontier of their kingdom. In the neighbourhood of this place, Antony expected to be received by Pinarius Scrapus, whom he had placed at the head of his forces in that quarter *. But this officer, from whatever person he may have received his appointment, or however he may have been inclined, while the Triumvirs divided the empire, was now, by the event of the battle of Actium, sufficiently determined in the choice of his party. He had declared for Octavius, and now ordered the messengers of Antony, and all the officers under his own command, who were disposed to enter into any correspondence with the vanquished party, to be put to death.

Upon this disappointment, Antony relapsed into his former melancholy, proposed to kill himself, and was prevented only by the persuasion of a few friends, who earnestly entreated him to try his fortunes once more, at the head of the forces of Egypt †.

Cleopatra, in order to outrun the news of her disaster, and to prevent the disorders which might attend the fall of her authority, made all possible haste into her own dominions. When her ships came in sight of the Pharos, she hoisted the ensigns of victory, and entered the harbour of Alexandria with shouts of joy and triumph. Upon her landing, she gave an order to cut off, or to secure, some persons of whose affections she was doubtful, and then ac-

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 5. Plut. in Antonio, p. 136. Both these writers seem to understand that Pinarius Scrapus had belonged to Antony, and deserted from him on this occasion.

† Plut. in Antonio, p. 136, 4to, ed. Lond. ann. 1724. Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 5

knowledging the event of her late unfortunate expedition, took measures for the defence of her kingdom. Under pretence of collecting money for this purpose, she seized without reserve the effects of corporations and of private persons, and stripped the temples of their ornaments and of their treasures. But, having still upon her mind all the impressions of her late defeat, she rather looked for a retreat, to which she might fly with the money she had amassed, than for a station at which to withstand her enemy. Under these impressions, she formed a project to have her fleet dragged over land, from the Nile to the gulf of Arabia, and ordered ships to be built in the ports which communicated with the Indian seas, trusting that her enemy could not, for some time, be in condition to molest her with any naval armament in that quarter.

After this project began, in part, to be carried into execution, the Arabs, apprehending some danger to themselves from the preparations which appeared to be making on their coasts, demolished the docks which the queen of Egypt had ordered to be fitted up, plundered her stores, and destroyed the ships which she had already built; so that she was again reduced to the necessity of making her defence on the Nile, and of abiding the fate which threatened her country from the Mediterranean and the side of Asia or Europe *.

She had heard of Cæsar's having gone back into Italy; and from this circumstance, as well as from

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 7. Zonaras, lib. x, c. 33.

the difficulties of a winter navigation round the coasts of Greece, both she and Antony thought themselves secure for that season. In this, however, they were disappointed by the activity and resolution of their enemy, who, having lost no time unnecessarily at Brundisium, had, in order to avoid the difficulties of the winter navigation, ordered some galleys to be dragged over land at the Isthmus of Corinth; and by this means, while he was yet believed to be beyond the sea of Ionia, was actually well advanced in his voyage to the Nile *. His plan was to invade the kingdom of Egypt on two sides at once; at Paretonium, on the side of Africa, by an army under the command of Cornelius Gallus; and at Pelusium, on the side of Syria, with an army which he himself was to lead †.

Antony, upon his return to Alexandria, with the mortification of having been rejected by the Roman legions that were stationed on the frontier of the province of Africa, thinking it might strengthen his own party against that of Octavius, to point out an immediate offspring of the Julian family, and a succession of leaders to the party of Cæsar, declared Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, to be now of age, and qualified to enter upon the inheritance of his father. But while he exasperated Octavius by this species of personal insult, he appeared incapable of any rational plan of defence for himself or the kingdom he occupied. He even absented himself from the councils which were held on

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 5. † Orosius, lib. vi.

this subject, declined any share in the management of affairs, and in disgust withdrew from the palace.

While Antony continued in this humour, he was joined by Canidius, the late commander of his land forces at Actium. From this officer he had the melancholy account, that all his armies in Greece were dispersed; that Herod, the king of Judea, had declared against him; and all the princes he had lately placed upon different thrones in Asia had either followed this example, or been displaced; that he had not any possession, nor any certain friend, beyond the limits of Egypt. Upon receiving this account, he seemed to recover from his melancholy, and acquired that species of ease which results from despair. He left his retreat, returned to the palace, and, with Cleopatra, gave himself up to dissipation, profusion, and continual riot. They formed parties of pleasure, consisting of such persons as professed a resolution to die rather than to fall into the hands of their enemy *. Antony had an officer retained to put an end to his life, in the supposed extremity at which this choice was to be made; and Cleopatra had formed a collection of poisons for the same purpose.

In the midst of this seeming indifference to life, both the queen and her lover, however, submitted at times to make advances to Cæsar, and to sue for mercy. They dispatched their messengers together; but as Cleopatra sent, on her own account, presents of a crown, a sceptre, and a throne of gold, and privately instructed her agent to sound the disposition

* Plut. in Antonio

of Cæsar with respect to herself, this crafty politician perceived that she wished to be considered apart from Antony, and encouraged her to hope for a separate treaty. While he made no reply to Antony, and in public insisted that Cleopatra herself should surrender at discretion, he, in private, encouraged the queen to hope for better terms, and even to imagine, what he supposed her willing to believe, that she might still make some impression on his mind by the charms of her person.

As Octavius had an agent at the court of Egypt, to insinuate these hopes, and to cultivate the disposition which the queen had shown to a separate treaty, Antony became jealous of the frequent conferences to which this agent was admitted, and ordered him to be whipped, and expelled from the court. Sensible, however, of the enormity of this outrage, he wrote to Octavius soon after, to make an apology. "My misfortunes," he said, "have made me peevish, "and this fellow had provoked me; but you may "take your revenge on the person of my agent, who "is with you." In the subsequent part of this letter he put Octavius in mind of their former intimacy, of their relation, of their parties of pleasure, or rather debaucheries; and observed, that his frolics with Cleopatra did not deserve to be more seriously treated, than affairs of the same kind in which they had passed some idle hours together. He, at the same time, delivered up P. Turvilius, a Roman Senator, who had been supposed accessary to the death of Julius Cæsar, and who had, for some time, been attached to himself; and he concluded his letter with

some expressions of magnanimity, saying, That he was willing to die, provided he could obtain any favourable terms for the queen of Egypt *, who ought not to be involved in their quarrel.

Octavius, however, continued inexorable; and, urging his military operations on both frontiers of the kingdom of Egypt, got possession of Pelusium and of Paretonium; of the first, it was said, in consequence of his intrigues with Cleopatra, and by her connivance; of the second, by the entire defection of the troops which Antony had stationed for the defence of the place, and who now became an accession to the army of his rival.

Cleopatra, as if sensible of the suspicions she had incurred on the surrender of Pelusium, and desirous to recover the confidence of Antony, doubled her attention to his person, kept the anniversary of his birth-day with unusual splendour, and, to remove any suspicion of her having connived at the loss of Pelusium, delivered up an officer of the name of Seleucus, who had surrendered the place, that he might atone for his treachery by a suitable punishment.

Antony, observing the progress which his enemy made on the frontiers of the kingdom, and being weary of the project of ending his life in a riot, took a better resolution, and mustering what forces he could, both by sea and by land, was determined to try the fortune of a battle, or to die, at least, with a sword in his hand. When the enemy advanced to Alexandria, he attacked their cavalry, and put them

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 9.

to flight. Encouraged by his success in this encounter, he ordered all his forces to assemble by the first of August *. On this day he proposed to bring the contest to a decision, at once, both by sea and by land †: but the Egyptian fleet being ordered to begin the action, struck their colours, and surrendered themselves without a blow. The cavalry at the same time deserted to the enemy; and the infantry, being routed, fled into the city.

Upon this dispersion of all his forces, Antony complained, that he was betrayed, and was heard to accuse the queen. This unhappy author of his misfortunes had taken refuge, during the action, with a few attendants, in the monument, which, upon a plan of great strength and magnificence, was then recently built for a royal sepulchre. Thither she had already transported all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects. The access of the place was contrived to be shut from within, in such a manner as not to be opened without great labour ‡. It was given out, that the queen had retired in order to kill herself at the tomb, in which she was to be buried; and soon after, the report was spread that she was actually dead.

Antony, being now arrived at the end of all his hopes, and of his efforts, made haste to follow the supposed example of the queen, and gave his sword, for this purpose, to Eros, a freed slave, who had promised to use it, when required, in the last action of

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* Orosius, lib. vi, p. 268. † Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 10

‡ Plut. in Antonio.

friendship to his master; but Eros, unable to fulfil his promise, instead of killing his master, plunged the sword into his own bosom. Antony then snatching the weapon, wounded himself; but not expiring immediately, he was told, as he lay bleeding on the ground, that Cleopatra was yet alive and safe in the monument. Seeming to recover some strength at these tidings, he gave directions that he should be carried to her presence. Upon his coming, she appeared on the battlements; but under pretence that she feared a surprise, refused to have the gates unbarred, and made it necessary to have him towed over the walls. Although she had wished to disengage herself from this unfortunate man, and had even submitted to betray him, now when she saw him laid at her feet expiring*, and covered with his blood, she beat her breast, and tore her hair in the agonies of real suffering, mixed with the affectation of pretended passion.

Antony, having somewhat on his mind which he wished to express, called for wine, recovered strength enough to utter a few words, and expired†; thus ending his life in the fifty-third, or according to others, in the fifty-sixth year of his age‡; disposed, even in the last scenes of it, to occupy the intervals of every pressing occasion with riot and debauchery; verifying, in all the steps of his manhood and age, the charge of extravagance and profligacy, which marked his youth, and his first appearance in public

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 10. † Zonar. lib. x, c. 30.

‡ Plut. in Antonio.

life. He was possessed of talents for the council and the field, which he never exerted for any valuable purpose, or rather never exerted at all, except when driven by the most urgent necessity of his situation. Under this pressure, indeed, he sometimes repaired by his industry and vigour the breaches which were made by his dissipation or neglect. In consequence of his connection with Julius Cæsar, and of the place he gained among the military factions which endeavoured to engross or to divide his power, he was tempted to consider the Roman empire itself as the scene of his pleasures; and, in aiming at the sovereignty of the world, experienced those reverses which fully displayed the versatility and instability of his own character. But he fell, at last, deserted by every Roman citizen who had at any time been attached to his interest; betrayed by that person to whose caprices chiefly he sacrificed his fortunes, and under the fatal experience, that the utmost efforts of resolution, incited by the sense of extreme necessity, are not sufficient to retrieve the errors of past dissipation and folly.

When Antony gave himself the wound of which he died, one of his attendants, extracting the dagger from his body, ran with it to Octavius, who, seeing the weapon stained with blood, and being told what had passed, perhaps in imitation of Julius Cæsar, who is said to have wept for the death of Pompey, was observed to shed tears *. Suetonius reports, that he afterwards desired to see the body †.

* Plut. in Antonio. † Sueton. in Octav. c. 17

Cleopatra, as soon as the scene in the monument was over, and she had recollected herself, sent a formal notice of Antony's death to Cæsar, and then probably indulged her hopes, that the great obstacle of her peace being removed, she might obtain that consideration for her separate interests, which Octavius, by insinuations, or expressions of clemency, had given her cause to expect.

After the late contest was, in a great measure, decided, the victor continued to encourage the Queen of Egypt to hope for a separate treaty; and amused her with civilities, while he endeavoured to inform himself of her treasure, and make sure of her person as a captive to adorn his triumph, a circumstance esteemed of signal importance at Rome; but he had avoided coming under any engagements that should preclude him in this particular from the full use of his victory. Upon receiving her message, he sent Caius Proculeius, a Roman knight, and Epaphroditus, an emancipated slave, to calm her fears, to administer comfort, and, if possible, without stipulating any conditions, to reconcile her mind to the prospect of being transported to Rome.

What Octavius chiefly apprehended from the unfortunate queen, was some violent attempt on her own life. His emissaries, therefore, having suffered her, at her own earnest request, to remain where she was until the funeral of Antony should be over; they made a strict search, in order to remove from her hands every weapon, or supposed instrument of death; and, under pretence of doing her honour, placed a guard on the monument. They prevailed upon her

afterwards to remove to the palace, where she was attended with the usual state, and all the honours of a sovereign*. But being still kept at a distance from Cæsar, and in suspence with respect to his intentions, she betrayed much anxiety, and seemed to meditate some desperate purpose. In order to divert her from any fatal resolution, which might deprive the intended procession at Rome of its principal ornament, she was told that Cæsar consented to see her, and was to make her a visit in her own apartments. Upon this intimation, she ordered the chambers to be fitted up in the most elegant manner, and decorated, in particular, with the picture and bust of Julius Cæsar. When the expected visit of Octavius was to be paid, she took care to have bundles of the late Cæsar's letters and memorials before her. She herself was dressed in mourning, which she knew was supposed, at all times, to become her, and which, on this occasion, gave an expression of tender melancholy, which might render her person and her state more affecting. When Octavius presented himself, she rose from her couch; but, as if overawed by his presence, with an air of modesty and dejection, fixed her eyes on the ground. In accosting him, she called him her Master. "To his father," she said, "she owed all her "fortunes, and now willingly resigned them to the "son. The memory of the great Julius should be a "sufficient comfort in all her afflictions; she would "even consider him as revived in the person who "now inherited his fortunes, and bore his name. But

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 12.

" would to God," she said, bursting into tears, " that " I had died before him, so should I have escaped " the evils which his death, and the consequences of " it, have brought upon me!" Octavius bid her be of good courage; and assured her, that no harm was intended her. But she observing, that he spoke these words with coldness, and turned his eyes away, threw herself upon the ground in agonies of despair. " I " neither wish," she said, " nor can I continue to " live. I should have died when Cæsar fell; and," as thinking to pique his jealousy, by the expression of a mind still attached to his rival, " there is another " now," she said, " who calls upon me to follow; " suffer me to rest with him on whose account I " die *."

This interview concluded with a request on the part of the queen, that she might be allowed to perform the obsequies of Antony, to which she proceeded with all the appearances of an affectionate widow in the deepest affliction; but, as there is no doubt that she had betrayed the person whose fate she now appeared so much to lament, it is probable that her tears, though pretended to be shed on account of the dead, were, in reality, directed to move and to win his surviving rival. She still trusted to the effects of her beauty, and was, in her present situation, what she had been in the most serious councils of State, a supreme coquette, who, being naturally disposed to violent passions, could personate any character, or

* Dio. Cass. lib. xli, c. 12.

whether of Cleopatra, or of Antony, were spared, and honourably treated. Those of the latter, by Octavia, being near relations of Cæsar, and afterwards intermarried with the reigning family, left a posterity who succeeded to the empire *.

Among the partisans of the vanquished party who were ordered for execution, only two or three Romans of note are mentioned: Canidius, who had commanded the land-forces of Antony at Actium, and who still adhered to him in the wreck of his fortunes; Cassius Parmensis, a man of letters and a poet, who had been attached to Brutus and Cassius, but, having employed his wit against Octavius, was received by Antony, and lived with him in great intimacy: together with these is mentioned Ovinius, who, having been a Roman Senator, is said to have degraded himself by taking charge of the manufactures which were carried on in the palace of the Queen of Egypt.

In limiting the severity of his executions to these examples, Octavius appeared greatly to restrain the cruelty which he had formerly exercised against his enemies; he, at the same time, gave proofs of his munificence, by releasing all those who were in custody at Alexandria, whether as prisoners of State, as captives, or hostages from foreign nations †.

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* Sueton in Octav. c. 17. Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 19. Plut. in Antonio.

† Orosius, p. 269. Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 87.

CHAP. XXVI.

The merit or demerit of parties in the latter period of the Roman Republic.—Return of Octavius to Rome.—His triumphs and public entertainments.—Reform of the army.—Proposition to resign his power.—Consultation of Agrippa and Mæcenas.—Preludes to the pretended resignation of Octavius.—His speech in the Senate.—His consent to retain a part in the government of the empire.—Distribution of the provinces.—Title of Augustus.—The establishment of Augustus.

ALTHOUGH, in compiling this history, it has been intended to avoid expressions of mere praise and blame, other than are contained in the detail of facts and specification of characters; and to state, in every instance, the transaction itself, rather than the judgment of the writer; yet it is hoped that where questions of merit or demerit are in any considerable degree problematical, and where the most ingenious readers are likely to take opposite sides, he too may be indulged in some general discussion.

We may suppose the Roman Republic to have been hastening to its ruin from the sedition of Tiberius
U. C. 620. Gracchus, to the times on which we are
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In judging of those who were concerned in this transaction, we may form our opinions now upon speculative considerations, as they themselves joined their party from motives of interest, ambition, or public virtue. Although it be allowed that, in point of justice, we must give a preference to those who endeavoured to preserve the constitution of their country, and who acted merely in defence of themselves and their fellow-citizens; yet, in this instance, it will be alleged, that the event has had the effect of an experiment, to show that what they strove to perform was impracticable, and that notwithstanding the justice of their cause, the circumstances of the times were such as to have rendered their success not only desperate, but in a great measure inexpedient. They were born to a republic, it is true; but the people who were destined to govern in that republic could no longer be safely intrusted with government; and to contend for such a trust in behalf of men who were unworthy of it, was a dangerous error, for which the best intentions could not atone. Even the Roman Senate itself could not supply all the exigencies of government over a dominion of such extent, and containing so many sources of corruption. Its own members were degenerate, or fallen from the virtue of their ancestors. They were trained up in a luxury at home in the capital, which was to be supplied by the most cruel rapacity abroad in the provinces. Such an empire could be preserved only by the force and prompt executions of a master, concerned to preserve order for the safety of his own dominion. The change, therefore, from republic to mo-

narchy, it may be alleged, was seasonable; and Cato, with Cicero, Brutus, and all the other partisans of the commonwealth, actuated by a mistaken, though commendable zeal for liberty, would have supported their fellow-citizens in their pretensions to government after they were unworthy of it: in this attempt they fell a necessary sacrifice to their own error; and in their ruin made way for an establishment better fitted to the condition of the age, and to the character of the people, that that for which they contended and bled.

In this manner of stating the subject, we lay the task of vindicating their own conduct on those who endeavoured to preserve, not upon those who destroyed, the republic. But, in judging of the merits of men in a scene so remote, we must not proceed on conceptions drawn from the experience of subsequent ages, on our own predilection for monarchy in general, or even on our judgment of its expedience in that particular case; we must suppose ourselves in the situation of those who acted, and who, in the result of this contest, from the condition of equals, were to become master and servant, or lord and vassal. One party strove that they should be masters, the other that they themselves should not be slaves. The latter contended for the rights, which, together with their fellow-citizens, they had inherited, as Romans; they endeavoured to preserve the manners, as well as the institutions, of their country, against the destroying of both. The other party, at first, under pretence of zeal for higher measures of popular government than those they enjoyed, endeavoured to

corrupt the people whom they meant to enslave; and having, upon plausible pretences, got possession of the sword, they turned it against the established government of their country. Neither of those parties, probably, stated the speculative question which we may now be inclined to discuss, whether republic or monarchy was best accommodated to a state like the Roman, in the height of its dominion, and in the full tide of its luxury?

The wise, the courageous, and the just, alone are entitled to power; the innocent alone are entitled to exemption from restraint. But they who are not conscious of having forfeited their right to either, are undoubtedly justifiable in persisting to maintain it. The virtuous who resign their freedom, at the same time resign their virtue, or at least yield up that condition which is required to preserve it. Citizens who were born to inherit this condition, and who had the courage to harbour and to cherish that elevation of mind which belongs to it, were entitled to maintain for themselves the post of honour to the last, and must for ever receive from those who respect integrity and magnanimity the tribute of esteem, even of tenderness, which is due to their memory.

If ever there was a body of men fit to govern the world, it was the Roman Senate, composed of citizens who had passed through the higher offices of State, who had studied the affairs of their country, in the execution of its councils, and in the command of its armies; and it will for ever be remembered, in behalf of those who wished to preserve its authority, that if their removal from the scene on which they

acted was expedient or seasonable, it was so because that scene was become unworthy of their presence.

Some of the characters, indeed, which appeared in this cause, may require a separate treatment. In that of Cato, virtue was the result of a decisive and comprehensive reflection, as well as of temper. To him, rectitude of conduct was in itself, without regard to consequences, the supreme object of predilection and care. His penetration, as well as courage, in the early endeavours he made, and in the manly steadiness with which he persisted to oppose the designs of Cæsar and of Pompey, while others wavered, and either did not perceive their intention, or tamely submitted to them, gave him a striking superiority over his contemporaries *. He is represented by Cicero, in some instances, as retaining his inflexibility, when some degree of compliance was more likely to preserve the republic. The same censure has been repeated by others; but Cato was present to the scene, had no by-views to mislead him, and there is every reason to prefer his own judgment to that of any person, whether ancient or modern, disposed to cen-

* The impression of Cato's character remained so deep with posterity, as well as with the immediate witnesses of his conduct, that no authority on the part of those who wished to traduce him had any effect. It is remarkable, that even the authority of the Cæsars did not silence those who in other instances condescended to flatter them, nor prevent their joining in the praises of Cato. Virgil and Horace, though courtiers, could not be restrained on this subject. Vid. Æneid. lib, viii, ver. 670. Hor. lib. i, ode 12. He was revered, it has been said, rather as a good than as a great man; but mankind do not revere without an opinion of great ability, as well as benevolent intention; and his understanding as well as his will, was in a superior order of being to those who censure him. Vid. Lord Bolingbroke's "Patriot King."

sure him. Cicero temporised, made the experiment of what compliance on some occasions could effect, and even flattered himself that he had gained the affections of Cæsar and Pompey to the republic, by giving way to the arts which they employed to destroy it: But in the end did justice to Cato, owning that he alone foresaw; with proper fortitude opposed, and finally died, that he might not see the ruin of his country *.

The fellow-sufferers of Cato, in the same cause of the republic, were persons of a different character from himself. To him virtue was the end, to them it was the means which they employed for the attainment of their end; and they measured advantages by the success of their pursuits. Cato possessed independence in the courage and resolution of his own mind; they sought for it in the institutions of their country; they wished to preserve their own rights, and would not yield them to any individual or set of men whatever. This character indeed is in a high degree meritorious; no more is required to form an excellent citizen; and no more was required but the prevalence or frequency of such a character at Rome, to have preserved, and even to have re-established in health, that sickly and perishing constitution of government.

The natural antidote of vice is restraint and correction, and we call for absolute power in the hands

* See, as quoted above in the end of book fourth, Epist. ad Atticum, lib. 12, ep. 4, "Quod ille ea, quæ nunc sunt, et futura viderit, et ne fierent contenderit, et facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit."

of one or a few to curb the licence of many; but in great disorders, and where the power destined to restrain is itself corrupted, what is applied for a remedy is sometimes an evil, more than sufficient to counterbalance the disease. They who peruse the history of Rome, under the sequel and continued effects of a revolution, which is now accomplished or fast approaching, will find no cause to congratulate the world on its having escaped from the licence of faction in Clodius and Milo, to experience the effects of a ruling power, which no faction could resist, in the hands of Caius or Nero.

The impossibility of preserving the republic, or its unfitness to remain at the head of so great an empire, is no doubt the most plausible excuse which is made for its subversion; but this apology neither Cæsar nor Pompey was entitled to make for himself. Cæsar affected a zeal for popular government, that he might demolish the Senate, and Pompey strove to inflame all the evils of government, in order to render himself necessary to the aristocracy. Cæsar fomented the rage of political faction, to break down the barriers of public order, or make way for military force; and at last, under the shew of releasing the people from the tyranny of the nobles, drew that sword with which he accomplished the ruin of both.

The Senate indeed had many difficulties to encounter; that of protecting the provinces from oppression, in which many of their own members were concerned; that of restraining the tumults and disorders of a licentious people, led by different adven-

turers, desirous of change, or impatient of government; and that of conducting a pretended popular assembly, in whom the legislation and sovereignty of the empire was nominally vested. It is, however, difficult to judge how far so able a council, while they themselves remained in any degree uncorrupted, might not have found antidotes, or at least temporary expedients, to resist every other evil, if they had not been so ably attacked as they were by the first Cæsar and Pompey, who, during one period, joined interests together, to break down the defences of a fortress, which they afterwards severally intended to occupy.

The ordinary train of affairs at Rome; the substitution of tumults for regular assemblies of the People; the practice of committing the provinces, with so many resources, and the command of such armies, with so little control, to the discretion of ambitious citizens; the dangerous powers which accompanied the higher offices of State, without any check upon those who were inclined to abuse those powers; the easy recourse which persons of dangerous pretensions, when rejected by the Senate, had to popular riots, under the denomination of Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, made the destruction of the republican form in some measure necessary.

With such citizens as the Gracchi, as Apuleius, as Marius and Cinna, Clodius and Milo, it was difficult to preserve a republic; but with such citizens as Cæsar and Pompey, it was altogether impossible; or rather the republic may be considered as at an end from the time it was in their power to dispose of it.

The first class of these adventurers were misled by their passions, or fell into the vices of their situation. They endeavoured to rule by popular tumults or the force of profligate numbers, and when they could not pervert the ordinary forms of the State to their purpose, employed violence to set them aside; but even in this, by their casual opposition, they preserved a kind of balance, in which the freedom of the commonwealth seemed to remain.

Pompey and Cæsar promoted, systematically, all the evils to which their country was exposed. They had recourse to the populace for grants, which the Senate refused; they prolonged the term of provincial appointments, which were sufficiently dangerous, however short; they united together powers which were sufficiently dangerous when separate; united the command of armies in the provinces with the authority of office at Rome; and instead of suspending the fate of the commonwealth, by their mutual obstructions to each other, hastened its ruin, by concerting together their measures against it; leaving the decision of their respective claims, till after they had rendered the republic a necessary prey to the one or the other.

Pompey, for some time, thought himself in actual possession of the monarchy; Cæsar, in the mean time, provided the most effectual means to ravish it from him. To state the difficulty of preserving the republic, in such hands, as an excuse for their having destroyed it, were to offer the character of criminals as an excuse for their crimes. When the highwaymen are abroad, the traveller must be robbed; but

this will not justify the deed. Cæsar and Pompey are blamed, not because the republic had an end, but because they themselves were the evils by which it perished.

The necessity of submitting, at least for a time, to the government of single men, had been repeatedly experienced by the Romans, and was so, in the highest degree, at the times to which these observations refer; but this will not warrant the pretensions of every profligate person who may affect to place himself in the station of sovereign. If, upon this ground, Cato and Brutus were to be blamed for resisting the power of Cæsar; the last, in his turn, must be blamed for resisting the pretensions of Pompey; and other citizens, in their respective ages, for rejecting the advances which were made by Marius, Cinna, Catiline, and other profligate adventurers, who attempted to place themselves, singly or in factions, at the head of the empire.

Of the two Cæsars, the first possessed the talent of influencing, of gaining, and employing men to his purpose, beyond any other person that is known in the history of the world; but it is surely not for the good of mankind that he should be admired in other respects. To admire even his clemency, is to mistake policy and cunning for humanity. The second Cæsar, in the part which he acted against the republic, is, in many respects, more excusable than the first. He entered the scene when the piece was much farther advanced; when his countrymen had submitted to monarchy, under the title of a perpetual Dictatorship, and when he himself was considered as

the heir of a person who had possessed this pre-eminence. He was therefore, at least, nearer to the condition of a hereditary prince, who may be allowed to consider sovereignty as his birthright; and who, however he may be disposed to promote the good of mankind, has a right to maintain his own station, and may be supposed to acquit himself sufficiently of his duty, by making a proper use of his power, without being under any obligation to resign it, or to admit of improper encroachments upon the estate to which he is born.

The first Cæsar was aggressor in the political contest, and forced the friends of the republic to defend their own rights, or to secure them against his invasion; the second, although he succeeded to the same quarrel, and actually paid no respect to the republic, more than was necessary to cover his design against it, yet appears, more than the first, in the light of a person who strove only with the rivals of his own ambition, and with his competitors for the succession of his uncle and adoptive father, who, having declared him the heir of his fortune, gave him a pretence to support the pre-eminence his relation and predecessor had gained.

This apology, nevertheless, though more powerful in its application to the case of the second Cæsar than to that of the first, is very imperfect in its application to either. If Octavius had been educated under any impressions of hereditary right to the sovereignty of the Roman empire, the fate of the person from whom he derived his supposed right, and the subsequent, though temporary, re-establishment

of the commonwealth, which he witnessed, and which he pretended to approve, were sufficient to have undeceived him, and to have taught him the part which he had to act as a Roman citizen, and the modesty with which he ought to have waited for the legal age, and the constitutional election, in order to obtain those offices of State, to which, in common with the other citizens of Rome, his condition, no doubt, highly entitled him.

Octavius, however, is not perhaps to be tried so much in the quality of a Roman citizen, born to the republic, as in that of leader of a party, born at a time when the competition for superiority was general, and when sovereignty or death were the alternatives to be chosen by persons of such rank and pretensions as his own. In this quality he effected, what his grand-uncle and adoptive father had taught him to aim at, the suppression of civil government, and the removal of all his own competitors for power.

As Pompey, with Cato, and the principal supporters of the Senate, had sunk under the first Cæsar; so Brutus, Cassius, and the other restorers of the commonwealth, with the last of the family of Pompey, sunk under Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two last, in their turn, having sunk under Octavius, this successful adventurer now remains sole commander of all the armies of the republic, and sole master of all its provinces, from the banks of the Euphrates to the sea of Britain. And the contest for this mighty sovereignty being now at last decided, it remains that we observe what new form the world is to receive under the dominion of its master,

or what mighty harvest is to be reaped by him who is in possession of the field, and who is now enabled to gather what so many heroes had sown or planted, and what so many pretenders to the same object would have ravished or torn from each other.

This able adventurer having, in other situations, conducted his affairs with so much discretion, as well as enterprise, continued, in his present elevation, to exercise the same profitable virtues. In the severities which he had formerly practised against those who opposed him, there was sufficient evidence of a cruel and sanguinary nature*; and it were monstrous to suppose, that the murders which were perpetrated by his order, or with his consent, could be justified by the necessity of affairs, in which his engaging at all was criminal. But as the horror of Sylla's cruelties, still remaining in the minds of the people, was a great bar to the success of any similar usurpation, and suggested to Julius Cæsar, in the beginning of his career, an opposite course of clemency and mercy; so the fate of this last adventurer, who, after having shown mercy to many of his opponents, fell at last by the hands of those he had spared, probably suggested to the Triumvirate the necessity of providing for their own safety before they affected the reputation of mercy; and, as we shall see, suggested to this heir of Cæsar the caution, not to affront, so directly as his predecessor had done, that republican spirit, whose effects he had so much occasion to dread.

* See the History of the Proscription, and his attendance at the sacrifices or executions done at Perusia. Sueton. in Octav. c. 15.

Octavius, though inferior to his uncle in the character of a soldier, being equally master of every necessary artifice, like him, had recourse to clemency in his turn, or when it suited the state of his affairs. His steps became gradually less bloody, from the first fatal proscription to the last victory which he obtained over Antony; and in this he reversed the order which had been observed by the first Cæsar, beginning to affect moderation in a period of the war, corresponding to that in which the military executions of the other were observed to have become more decisive and bloody; affecting to respect every citizen at Corfinium, he spared none at Thapsus or at Munda.

In the whole management of the contest with Antony, Octavius had conducted himself with a singular address. Stating himself merely as Roman Consul, he discontinued the title of Triumvir in his own person, in order to strip his antagonist likewise of that character. To avoid appearances which might divide any part of the Roman People against himself, he overlooked Antony entirely in the pretended quarrel with the Queen of Egypt, or he affected to consider him as a person under some fatal delusion, and in hazard of becoming a traitor to his own country, from his attachment to a stranger and an artful woman. The war was accordingly declared against the Queen of Egypt alone, and, like any other foreign war, was undertaken by Octavius in the character of Roman Consul, and with a pretended observance of all the usual forms of the commonwealth.

This adventurer was remarkable for employing

disguises, which, though too thin to conceal the truth, furnished his own party, at least, with a pretence for supporting him, and considerably helped him forward in the execution of all his designs. Affecting to be no more than Consul, or ordinary magistrate, he, in fact, exercised the powers of a master or military usurper, in the western provinces; and hastened, by the reduction of Egypt, or the suppression of his rival, who had taken refuge in that kingdom, to make himself equally sovereign in the East. In the absence of this Consul, however, the affairs of State, in the capital, were not permitted, as usual, to devolve on his nominal colleague, nor, in the absence of both Consuls, to devolve on the Prætor, or other officer of State who was next in rank; but were in the hands of Mæcenas, a person known merely as the minister or confident of Octavius, without any other title to command or office in the commonwealth. These circumstances were sufficient to discredit the professions which Octavius continued to make of his zeal for the constitution of the republic; but, when it is convenient for parties to be deceived, they can shut their eyes upon every circumstance which tends to expose the deception.

It was not indeed necessary, at present, that the People should be imposed upon, in order to enable the head of the army to reign with an absolute sway in Italy, and over all the western provinces. As the troops who were actually under arms looked forward to their general for future provisions and settlements, so the veterans, then established in the country, looked up to him as the guardian of their property, or

considered his elevation as the principal security of what they possessed. Insomuch that, if it were necessary, in this case, to preserve the appearances of civil government, in order to conciliate the minds of the citizens, it was equally necessary to preserve the reality of absolute power, in order to gratify the army, and in order to continue to the veterans the principal security by which they held their lands. And this wary politician accommodated himself, with uncommon discernment, to the feelings or prejudices of both.

The superior address of Octavius, in the contest with Antony, gave continual presages of victory on his side; and from the beginning of the war, to its final decision at Actium, and to the last close of the scene in Egypt, partisans were continually passing from the losing to the winning side. Upon the reduction of Egypt, the victor, though pretending to act in the capacity of Roman Consul, did not, as in former times, refer to the Senate the arrangements to be made in his conquest; nor did he wait the formality of a commission from Rome to authorise him in settling the province. He named a governor, and gave orders for the repair of all the canals and public works, which, on account of their effect in distributing the inundations of the Nile, made, in that kingdom, a great and important object of State; and, by their being neglected during the troubles, of late, had occasioned distress, and apprehensions of famine.

The kingdom of Egypt was a principal granary for the supply of Italy, and it is probable that its consequence had been severely felt in the late inter-

ruption of its exports. Octavius therefore took measures to secure his possession of a country, by which he observed that the state of Italy, and the capital of the empire, might be greatly affected. He deprived the Egyptians of all the forms of their monarchy; and, in order to efface the memory of their national independence, and to discontinue pretensions which the inhabitants of Alexandria used to support by tumults and revolts, he abolished all their public assemblies or national councils: And as there was reason to apprehend that there might still exist, under the ruins of this late opulent monarchy, or under the remains of Antony's party there, some sparks of fire, which the ambition or intrigues of any considerable partisan might kindle into a flame, he forbade the resort of Egyptian nobles to Rome, or of Roman Senators to Egypt; and chose for immediate governor Cornelius Gallus, a person of no more than equestrian rank, with moderate pretensions, not likely to harbour ambitious designs; making it a rule to have similar qualifications in future governors, and to perpetuate likewise the other parts of an establishment which he now made, for the preservation of so important a territory, and the government of so factious a people.

While Octavius made these arrangements in Egypt, he secured a great treasure, of which a considerable part was found in the coffers of the late queen, and still more arose from the contributions which he himself imposed on the city of Alexandria and other districts of the kingdom. Being, from these funds, prepared to acquit himself of the pecuniary engage

ments he had come under to the army, and enabled to make donations to the populace of Rome, whose favour was necessary to him in the further prosecution of his designs, he set out on his return to Italy; but having stopt in the island of Samos, while the army, in separate divisions, was moving to the westward, he passed the winter at this place, deferring his arrival at Rome until the troops should be assembled, and every other circumstance prepared for the triumphal entries he intended to make into the capital.

During his stay in Samos, the neighbouring towns and provinces vied with each other in demonstrations of submission to his authority, and of zeal for his cause. The inhabitants of Pergamus and Nicomedia, in particular, made offer of divine honours to himself, and petitioned for leave to erect a temple for the purpose of performing these honours. Those of Ephesus and Nicæa, as being more modest, or more delicate in their flattery, directed this compliment to his adoptive father, the late Cæsar, to whom, together with Roma, considered as joint deities, they proposed to erect a shrine and a temple.

In Italy, at the same time, similar or more important tributes of adulation and servility were paid to the victor. At Rome, all the honours with which the republic had been accustomed to reward the eminent service of her citizens, had been for some time lavished on those who were most successful in subverting her government; and these honours were now heaped on Octavius, with a profusion proportioned to the ascendant he had gained by the sup-

pression of all his competitors. The statues which had been erected to his rival Mark Antony were broken down, and the name of Marcus for ever forbid in that family. As if the extinction of this rival were an end of every war, notwithstanding that many hostile nations were yet in arms on the frontiers of the empire, the gates of Janus were ostentatiously shut, and Octavius declared to be the restorer of peace to the world. A triumphal arch was erected at Brundisium, on the spot where it was supposed he was to set his foot on shore. The anniversaries of his birth and of his victories were to be celebrated for ever as days of thanksgiving; and his name was to be inserted in the hymns or public prayers, which were statedly sung, or offered up, for the safety of the commonwealth.

U. C. 724. Imper. Cæsar, 5to. Sext. Apuleius, ex Kal. Julii Polit. Valer. Messala.

On the first of January, while Octavius was still at Samos, he being admitted a fifth time into the office of Consul, the Senate and People took an oath of allegiance, or, in words more nearly corresponding to the terms of their language, took an oath to observe his acts and decrees. They declared him Tribune of the People for an unlimited time, and extended the powers of this office beyond its usual bounds, circumscribed by the walls of the city. They ordained, that from thenceforward the appeals usually made to the People should be made to Cæsar alone; and that in criminal judgments, what was called the vote of Minerva, an act of grace provided for the pardon of criminals, when condemned only by a single vote of majority, should from

thenceforward be ascribed to him, and consequently be termed, the Mercy or the Vote, not of Minerva, but of Cæsar *.

The precipitancy with which the Roman Senate and People now rushed into servitude, had probably no mixture of that sullen design with which the partisans of the republic had prepared the first Cæsar for his fate. The retainers of the victorious party raised the cry of adulation, and they were followed, in expressions of servility, by persons who wished to recommend themselves by the most early advances, or who dreaded being marked out for resentment, in case they appeared to be tardy in expressing their zeal. But what, under established monarchy, may be considered as the duty and the loyalty of subjects to their sovereign, and, like filial affection, though sometimes partial and misplaced, is always a virtue, and salutary to mankind; in such rapid transitions, from the pretension of citizens to the submission of slaves, is a mortifying example of the weakness and depravity to which human nature is exposed.

The apparent servility of all orders of men under the usurpation of Julius Cæsar, probably inspired that security which gave the conspirators such an advantage against him. The example, however, put Octavius, though less exposed, much more on his guard; and may serve to account for many of the precautions he took, and for many of the forms he observed, in the sequel of his government. He had occasion, indeed, to experience, in his own person,

* Dio. Cass. lib. xxxi.

that his precautions were not altogether unnecessary. In the midst of the late demonstrations of joy for his victory, there were still a few who whetted their swords in secret against him, as the cause of their public degradation, and the author of their private wrongs. Lepidus, the son of the late degraded Triumvir, and nephew of Marcus Brutus by his sister Junia, incited probably by this domestic example, and by so many motives of a private and public nature, had procured some accomplices, and was preparing to cut short the usurpation of Octavius on his return to Rome. But this design, no way justified by any considerations of prudence or public utility, was defeated by the vigilance of Mæcenas, and ended in the execution of the young Lepidus, and in the imprisonment of his mother Junia, who remained in confinement until she was admitted to bail, at the humble request of her husband, the late Triumvir, and associate in the empire with Octavius and Antony, and who, to the other effects of humiliation which he now endured, joined that of being overlooked with contempt, even by those who were supposed to have suffered by his former abuses of power *.

Octavius having, by his stay in the island of Samos, disconcerted the effect of this conspiracy, and given sufficient time for the transportation of his army, and the other apparatus of his triumph, into Italy, set out for that country, and in his way visited the scene of his late victory at Actium. At this

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 88. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxv.

place, Apollo being the principal object of worship, he had, immediately after the action, selected from the captures a galley of each rate, to be placed as an offering to the god; and at Toryné, on the opposite side of the Straits, where his own army had been stationed before the engagement, he directed a new city to be erected, under the name of Nicopolis *.

The conqueror, upon his arrival at Rome, was received by Politus, who had succeeded to the office of Consul at the resignation of Apuleius, and who, though now his colleague, dropped the pretension to equality, and performed the sacrifices of thanksgiving which had been appointed for his safe return. Though victor in so many contests, he had hitherto, either by the nature of the wars in which he had been engaged, or by the event of them, not been entitled to a triumph; or being, by his temper and great caution, averse to ostentation, he had neglected to avail himself of this honour. But though he himself, in appearance, was no way governed by vanity, something was due to the public opinion, to the wishes of those who had shared in the glory of his victories, and to the impressions which even pageantry itself is fitted to make on the minds of those who are to be governed. He therefore determined to exhibit three separate triumphal processions. The first for his reduction of the Panonians, the Japydes, and the Dalmatians: the second for his victory at Actium; and the third for the conquest of Egypt. In the first of these triumphs, Carinus, by whom the

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 1. Sueton. in Octav. c. 18.

war of Illyricum had been chiefly conducted, was admitted to partake with the commander under whose auspices the subject of triumph had been gained. In the third procession was exhibited a scene, which, for riches and splendour, greatly surpassed any of the former, being a display of the treasure he had amassed in Egypt, and decorated with various trophies constructed from the spoils of that country. Among these was carried the effigy of the late queen, having, in allusion to the supposed manner of her death, the aspick represented on her arm. And the whole was followed by the piteous train of her surviving children, who were led as captives.

In these processions a circumstance was remarked, which indicated considerable innovation in the pretensions of the person by whom they were led. It had been usual for the officers of State to meet the triumphal march at the gates of Rome, and afterwards to advance before it into the city. In conformity with the first part of this custom, the Consul and other magistrates met the procession at the gates; but suffering the conqueror to pass on before them, fell behind, and followed in his train to the Capitol.

Here he deposited, in the Temple of Jupiter, sixteen thousand pondo, or one hundred and sixty thousand ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thousand pounds sterling *; and at the close of the ceremony distributed a thousand sestertii, or about eight pounds of

* Sueton. in Octav. c. xxx.

our money a man to the troops; and this, to an army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, amounted to a sum of near a million sterling. To the officers, besides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards. To Agrippa, in particular, he presented a blue ensign, in token of his naval victories; to the People he made a donation of four hundred sestertii, or about three pounds five shillings a man, and doubled the usual allowance of corn from the public granaries; discharged all that he owed, remitted all the debts that were due to himself, and refused all the free gifts which were offered to him from the different towns and districts of Italy.

These accumulations and distributions of foreign spoils at Rome, or the general expectation of prosperous times which attended them, produced great or very sensible effects in raising the price of houses, lands, and other articles of sale, whether in Italy or in the contiguous provinces; a circumstance which, joined to the new and strange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being shut, as a signal of universal peace, made these triumphs of Octavius appear to be an epoch of felicity, and a prelude of hope to the empire.

They were followed by other magnificent ceremonies; the dedicating of a temple which had been erected to Minerva, and the opening of a great hall which had been inscribed with the name of Julius Cæsar. In that hall was placed a noted statue of Victory, which had been brought from Tarentum; and there also were hung up the trophies which had been collected in Egypt. The statue of Cleopatra,

in gold, was placed in the temple of Venus; and at the same time the shrine of Julius Cæsar, as well as those of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were decorated with many ensigns, or badges of victory.

On occasion of these solemnities, a variety of games were exhibited: that of Troy, in particular, was now instituted, being a procession formed by youth of high rank, mounted on horseback, and led by Marcellus and Tiberius, the nephew and the step-son of Octavius. Races were run in chariots and on horseback, by persons of high rank; and fights of gladiators were exhibited, in which, to the supposed disgrace of the times, it is remarked, that a Roman Senator, of the name of Quintus Ventelius, was one of the combatants. Numerous parties of captives from the Daci and Suevi, in a form that might pass for real battles, were made to fight for their liberty, this being proposed to them as the prize of the victor. Many exhibitions were made of hunting and baiting of wild beasts, in which were presented a Rhinoceros and Hippopotamos or Sea Horse, animals till then unknown at Rome. In the time of these entertainments, which continued many days, Octavius either really was, or pretended to be taken ill, and left the tiresome honour of presiding at the shows to some private Senators, who, together with many other members of their body, to increase the solemnity, feasted the People in their turns *.

Such had been the arts by which candidates for public favour, in the disorderly times of the republic,

* Dio. Cass. lib. li, c. 22, 23.

maintained in the capital the consideration they had gained by their services on the frontiers of the empire; and the continuance of these arts had now the more effect, that the people, who still had a claim to this species of courtship, were become insensible to any other privilege of Roman citizens, and were ready to barter a political consequence, which they were no longer fit to enjoy, for a succession of sports and entertainments that amused their leisure, or for a distribution of bread, which, without the usual and hard conditions of industry or labour, helped to give them subsistence.

So distractedly fond was the populace at Rome of their inhuman spectacles, that in the preceding year, while the event of the Egyptian war was yet in suspense, a concourse of Roman citizens, assuming the powers of the People in public assembly, bestowed on Statilius Taurus, by a formal decree, in return for his munificence in exhibiting matches of gladiators and the baiting of wild beasts, the privilege of naming annually one of the Prætors. So irregular and absurd were become the proceedings of what were called the Assemblies of the People; and the wary Octavius could not overlook the effect of such arts, in gaining their consent to the dominion he meant to assume. But while he indulged the People in their disposition to amusement and dissipation, he gave the necessary attention to his military arrangements, and took measures to secure the possession of that principal support, on which all the powers of a sovereign, in such an empire, must be founded. He had experienced the danger which may arise from

armies ill governed, and knew that a power may become insecure, by an abuse of the very means by which it is gained. When to the troops, which he himself had transported to Sicily, were joined those of Lepidus and Sextus Pompeius, the engine became too unwieldy for his management, and, without any other principle of government but fear, might baffle his skill to conduct it. He learned, upon this occasion, that the considerations of civil justice, and that which is paid to some form of political subordination, are necessary even to the discipline and order of a military establishment.

In pursuance of this observation, Octavius, immediately after his victories in Sicily, had, with great address, proceeded to reduce and to purge the legions, by dismissing strangers and fugitive slaves, and by ordering the levies from thenceforward to be confined to citizens of Rome. The denomination of Roman citizen, indeed, was no longer appropriated to the descendants of the Alban or Sabine colony, nor even to the inhabitants of the municipal towns of Italy. It had been communicated to many cities and provinces beyond these limits, and it was likely now, with much greater propriety than ever, to be extended to the free, or well-born and respectable class of the inhabitants in all parts of the empire. By limiting, however, the levies of the army to this name of respect and of real privilege, Octavius restored, in some degree, the connection between the principles of civil and military estimation, taught the soldier to value himself on his condition as a citizen, and the

citizen to consider as an honour, peculiar to his condition, the name of a legionary soldier.

Upon this arrangement, the commander in chief of the army, as first magistrate of the commonwealth, had a double claim to obedience, and, joined to his military power, had an authority, derived from the consideration of justice and of civil right, without which armies are no more than companies of banditti, whose force may be occasionally turned against their employers, as well as their enemies.

The legions assembled at Rome, on occasion of the late triumphal processions, were now to be distributed to what were intended as their ordinary stations in time of peace. Of these stations, the principal were on the Euphrates, on the Rhine, and on the Danube; but, before this distribution could be finally made, some troubles, which, notwithstanding the late signal of general peace, still subsisted in some parts of the empire, particularly on the Moselle and the Rhine, in the interior parts of Spain, and on the confines of Macedonia, required attention. To the first of these quarters, Nonius Gallus was sent to reduce the Treviri *, who, in concert with some German nations, made incursions into Gaul. Statilius Taurus was sent into Spain, against the Astures and Cantabri †, and Marcus Crassus, from Macedonia, had orders to dislodge the Daci and Bastarni, Scythian nations, who having passed the Danube and the mountains of Hæmus, had taken pos-

* The Bishoprick of Treves.

† The inhabitants of what is now called Asturia and Cantabria.

session of some districts of the Roman empire in Thrace. Upon the approach of Crassus, these intruders retired into their own country, leaving the Romans again in possession of the lands which they had formerly occupied in that quarter *.

The officers employed on these different services, were no longer, as formerly, supreme in their respective stations, and accountable only to the Senate and People; they were understood to be the mere lieutenants of a superior officer acting as general-governor, or commander in chief, with equal authority in every province, and over all the armies in the empire. This supreme command, Octavius held under the well-known name of *Imperator*, which was usually given in the field to victorious generals, and which he, contrary to former practice, now retained even in the city, and, as we shall have occasion to observe, gradually appropriated to himself and his successors.

In the character which Octavius now assumed, he united, in support of his authority, the prerogatives of Consul, Censor, and Tribune of the People; and thus, in divesting himself of the name of Triumvir, he affected to re-establish the constitution of a republic, and to restore the ordinary magistrates and officers of State; but to a person, who valued safety no less than power, such an establishment was far from being sufficiently secure. The dignities of Consul, Censor, and Tribune, being by the constitution of the republic separate and temporary, the unprecedented conjunction and continuance of them in the

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvii, c. 54—57. Tacit. An. lib. iv, c. 5.

same person, was a palpable imposition, which could be no longer safe than he was surrounded by guards; and depending on force alone, without any plea of right, presented an object of ambition to every adventurer who could bring an army in support of his claim.

These considerations probably suggested to Octavius the necessity of endeavouring to strengthen his title. He had hitherto kept possession of the government under various pretences; but never declared any intention to realize, or to perpetuate the sovereignty in his own person. For some time, he had professed no more than a desire to avenge the death of his relation Julius Cæsar. Next, he pretended to remove some disorders which had crept into the commonwealth; and, last of all, to oppose the designs of Antony, who, at the breaking out of the quarrel betwixt them, he suggested, was likely to sacrifice the rights of the Roman People to the caprices of a stranger and a woman.

These rivals, in their appeals to the judgment of the public, vied in their professions of zeal for the commonwealth, mutually challenged each other to resign their unconstitutional powers; and each retained his own, under the single pretence that he was obliged to continue in arms, until he should have secured the republic against the designs of his antagonist.

This pretence being now removed, it was become necessary that Octavius should more fully explain himself, and declare upon what footing he was to hold the government. The chief partisans of the

public had fallen by their own hands, or by the swords of their enemies. All his rivals were cut off, and the whole military force of the empire centred in himself; but he had experienced, in the repeated mutinies of the army, the precarious state of his authority over men, who were directed by mere caprice or personal attachment, without any acknowledged title on the part of their leader.

An open usurpation of kingly power was still odious at Rome: it appeared as a direct attack, not only upon the forms of the Roman republic, but likewise as an attack upon the private right of every citizen who pretended to consideration and power proportioned to the rank of his family or his personal qualities; and though the People in general were disposed to submission, yet the violence of a few, who might be willing to expose themselves as the champions of public liberty, was still to be dreaded. In this quality, not only citizens having high pretensions in the line of civil preferment, but military officers likewise, might be dangerous to their own leader; and choosing rather to claim elevation and honour as their right, than as the gift of a master, might publicly spurn authority, or employ against him the hands of some secret assassin, whom in any successful attempt the law would protect, and the public voice would applaud.

Julius Cæsar, whose personal qualities were sufficient to have supported him in any pretensions, still found himself mistaken in relying on the attachment of his own officers, as much as in relying on the submission of his fellow-citizens. He found persons of

every condition, still animated with the spirit of republican government, combined for his destruction, and he fell a sacrifice to his excessive security, or rather to the parade and ostentation with which he affected to hold his power. His successor on the present occasion, as he was by nature more cautious, and less actuated by vanity, so he was taught, by this alarming example, to disguise his usurpation, or to proceed less directly to his object.

Octavius, therefore, having taken the most effectual measures to secure his power, still thought it necessary to affect a purpose of resigning it, and of restoring the republican government. It is reported, that he even held a serious consultation on this subject with his principal advisers and confidents, Agrippa and Mæcenas. This fact may be questioned; but in a character so entirely made up of artifice and design, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he wished to disguise his thoughts even to his most intimate counsellors, or to secure their approbation before he disclosed his real intentions.

Agrippa and Mæcenas are said to have been of different opinions respecting the propriety of their master's resignation; and the question accordingly, as it was supposed to be debated in this famous council, has furnished a curious theme for the display of rhetorical powers. Agrippa encouraged Octavius to persist in his supposed intention to resign the empire, and supported this opinion, by stating the advantages of republican government. "It is the tendency of republic," he said, "to multiply examples "of great men; it is the tendency of monarchy to

"diminish their numbers, and to sacrifice to one per-
"son the pretensions and the elevation of many.
"Under the first species of government, the Roman
"State has attained to its present greatness; under
"the second, it may languish and sink to the level
"of other nations." He put Octavius in mind of his duty to the Senate, and to the Roman People, for whose rights (while he took arms against the murderers of his father) he had always professed the greatest respect:—bid him beware of the reproaches he must incur, if it should now appear, either that he had formerly employed the pretence of filial duty as a cloak to his ambition; or that, now finding the People at his mercy, he slighted their pretensions the moment it was in his power to violate their rights with impunity.—He mentioned the danger of attempting to reduce into servitude a People, who had been accustomed not only to freedom, but to dominion over other nations;—stated the difficulties that must arise in the government of so great an empire;—the thorns that are for ever fastened in the pillows of kings;—the dangers to which he must be exposed, from persons who should feel themselves injured by his seizing the government, or who should think themselves entitled to supplant him, and whose courage, in every attempt against his person, would be extolled as a noble effort of patriotism to restore the freedom of their country.

Mæcenas took the opposite side, and contended for the necessity of a new species of government, in circumstances so different from those in which the republic had been formed. "So great an empire,"

he said, " surrounded by so many enemies, required " the authority and the secret counsels of a prince, " aided, but not controlled, by the opinions of those " who were qualified to serve him. The time when " the republic might rely on the virtue and modera- " tion of the greater part of her citizens, is now no " more: men are governed by ambition, avarice, or " pleasure; and if one person decline the sovereign- " ty, many pretenders will arise, who will again tear " the republic asunder by their wars and conten- " tions." He observed, that the fortune or destiny of Octavius had placed him at the head of the commonwealth; that he ought not to despise its gifts, or to throw the Roman People again into a state of confusion and anarchy, out of which he had been destined to save them. From these topics, he proceeded to consider the difficulties to be encountered in the administration of such a government, delivered maxims that contain the wisdom of monarchy, pointed at regulations calculated to preserve some species of civil constitution, yet depending on the will of the prince; and, according to the account which is given of his speech, suggested at this conference most parts of the plan which Octavius actually carried into execution *.

In the result of this consultation, it is said, that not only Octavius, but Agrippa likewise, embraced the opinion of Mæcenas; and that in concert from thenceforward, they considered the secure establishment of the monarchy as the common object of all

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 1—43.

their councils. They appear to have agreed, that Octavius should treat the Senate as he had in this conference treated his friends; that he should propose to resign his power, affect to make his continuing to hold it the result of public deliberation, and, by these means, obtain from the Senate itself the sanction of a legal establishment.

To smooth the way, however, to this end, some previous steps were yet to be taken. Much had already been done by Octavius to secure his power, to conciliate his new subjects, and, in case of competition with any rival, to recommend himself to the public choice; but some caution was still to be employed in bringing forward a question, relating to the continuance of the present government, or the restoration of the republic. The Senate, on whose immediate alacrity in the part that was expected from them the whole depended, was to be scrutinized and cleared of all such members as were, by their attachment to the republican forms, or by any other circumstance, likely to mar the design. A single voice in this assembly, given for receiving the demission, which Octavius was about to offer, might have greatly disconcerted his project, obliged him to throw aside his disguise, and might have made it necessary for him to continue holding by force what he wished to receive by consent, or what he even hoped to have pressed upon him by the general entreaties of all who were present. In order to make sure of the dispositions with which he already endeavoured to inspire the Senate and People, he himself, in conjunction with

U. C. 725. Imperator Cæsar VI. M. Agrippa.

Agrippa, entered on the office of Consul for the sixth time, divided the Fasces with this colleague, as usual in the purest times of the republic, and in all the exertions of their authority, or in the discharge of their common duties, knowing how little he had to apprehend from the pretensions of such a rival, he affected to rank with him on the most perfect foot of equality.

The new Consuls, in advancing to their principal object, which was to purge the Senate, and to fill it with such members as were likely to co-operate in the secret design, of obtaining for Octavius the sovereignty by a formal consent, proceeded to a review or Census, as usual, of all the different orders of the commonwealth; and having, in consequence of the late troubles, much property as well as public honours at their disposal, they had an opportunity to enrich, as well as to promote, those whom they wished to oblige; and accordingly made such a distribution of estates and dignities, as plainly shewed, that obsequiousness to the will of Cæsar was the road to distinction and fortune.

At this Census or review of the People, the Roman citizens were found to amount to four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand men fit to carry arms *. So much had their number, without any increase of population, augmented, by the continual admission of the freemen of entire towns and provinces upon the rolls of the People.

* The whole number of souls, even excluding slaves, must have exceeded sixteen millions. Eusebii Chronicon. Cæsar Imperator VI. M. Agrippa, p. 168.

The Senate had, during the devastations, or in the event of the civil wars, not only lost those who made its principal ornament and strength, considered as a republican council, but had even undergone a great, if not an entire change of its members. It consisted now of persons occasionally introduced by the parties lately contending for superiority; many, in particular, named by Antony, and who, during the late struggles, endeavoured to support the cause of their patron. These, more especially, it was the object of Octavius to remove; but being desirous to court all orders of men, as well as to set aside his enemies, he affected a reluctance in expelling particular persons, and recommended to those who were conscious of any disqualification, voluntarily to withdraw their names.

In consequence of this intimation, fifty Senators retired, probably most of them obnoxious or disaffected to the reigning power. One hundred and forty more were struck off the rolls. In performing this invidious task, Octavius was guarded by ten chosen Senators, who surrounded his person with concealed weapons, and is said himself to have been cased in armour under his robe. He at the same time, in every possible way, endeavoured to palliate the severity of his censures, suffering those who were excluded from the Senate still to retain the dress of that order, and to enjoy, at the theatre and other public places, the usual precedence of the Senatorian rank. Under pretence of rendering the order itself more independent and more respectable, he raised the money qualification of a Senator from eight to twelve hun-

dred thousand sesterces *; and thus, without any personal imputation, affected to exclude some Senators for the want of this new qualification; others he contrived to gain by a very artful method of bribery, alleging, that the public should not be deprived of the services of worthy citizens merely by a deficiency in their fortune, he, from his own coffers, made up the estates of several Senators to the new measure required. A striking instance of the policy in which he excelled; at once the most effectual to obtain his purpose, and the most artful to palliate or to conceal his design.

By the forms which the present Consuls affected to observe in the discharge of their public duties, the republic seemed so much to revive, that one Quintus Statilius was tempted to offer himself as candidate in free election for the office of Tribune; but in this instance, Octavius thought himself obliged to resume the functions of a master. For although he employed the forms of the republic to reconcile the minds of men to his own government, he knew how to distinguish what had a tendency to ravish that government out of his hands, or to embroil him in contests with the People: he therefore commanded this candidate for the office of Tribune to withdraw his pretensions, and not to awaken, by his unseasonable canvass, the turbulent dispositions which had formerly so much convulsed the State.

In the arts which were practised on the citizens of Rome, the exhibition of shows, processions, and pub-

* From about L. 7000 to L. 10,000.

lic entertainments, always made a part, and they operated on this People, perhaps operate on the multitude every where, with such powerful effects, as are sufficient to suggest the use of them to those who would govern or mislead, rather than benefit mankind. Octavius, aware of this circumstance, on the present as well as on former occasions, having temples and other public works executed with great magnificence, celebrated the dedication, or the completion of them, with many pompous processions and shows; he furnished, at his own expence, the circus and theatres with continual exhibitions of the fights of gladiators, and the baiting or hunting of wild beasts; and while he thus indulged the People in their habits of idleness or dissipation, he avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treasury within the city, and increased fourfold the gratuitous distributions of corn from the granaries. To these popular arts, he joined a species of amnesty of all past offences and differences; repealed all the acts, which, during the late violent times, the spirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet the apprehensions of many, who were conscious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out, that all papers or records seized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were destroyed; though in this Dion Cassius contradicts him, and alleges, that many such papers were preserved, and afterwards employed in evidence against persons whom he thought proper to oppress *.

* Lib. li. c. 42. &c

At the close of this memorable Consulate Octavius laid down the Fasces, and, agreeably to the forms of the republic, took the usual oath of declaration, that he had faithfully, and with his utmost ability, discharged the duties of his station. Being destined to the same office of Consul for the following year, he resumed the extraordinary power: and thinking the Senate and People, by the steps he had already taken, sufficiently prepared for the subject he meant to bring forward, he on the Ides, or thirteenth of January, surprised them with a direct and full resignation of all the extraordinary powers which he held in the empire. This solemn act he accompanied with a speech, which, according to his usual practice, having committed it to writing, he read. Being sensible that his sincerity would be questioned, and that his having taken the most effectual measures to obtain and to secure the government was but an ill token of his intention to resign it, he employed a great part of his harangue in removing suspicions, not merely by assurances of sincerity, but by arguments likewise drawn from general topics of probability and reason. To this purpose, he observed, that many persons, who were themselves incapable of such intentions as he now carried into effect, might doubt his sincerity, or that many, who could not behold a superior without envy, would be disposed to misrepresent his actions; but that the immediate execution of the purpose he had declared, would remove every doubt, would silence every attempt of calumny, entitle him to credit, and to their just esteem.

U. C. 726. Imperator Cæs. VII. M. Agrippa III.

"That I have it in my power to retain the govern-
"ment," he said, "no one will question. Of my
"enemies, some have suffered the just effects of their
"own obstinacy, and others, having experienced my
"clemency, are fully reconciled. My friends are
"confirmed in their attachment, by the mutual ex-
"change of good offices betwixt us, and by a parti-
"cipation in the management of affairs. I have no
"real danger to fear; and any alarm I might receive,
"would only hasten the proofs I am in condition to
"give of my power. I have many allies, and nume-
"rous forces well attached to my person; money,
"magazines, and stores of every sort; with what is
"still of more consequence than all these put to-
"gether, I am now placed, by the choice of the Se-
"nate and People of Rome, at the head of the re-
"public.

"What I now do, I hope will explain my past ac-
"tions, and silence those who impute my former con-
"duct to ambition, or who suppose that I am not
"sincere in the resignation which I profess to make.
"Having the sovereignty at present in my posses-
"sion, I renounce it, and deliver it into your hands,
"the army, the state, the provinces, not merely in
"the condition in which I received them, but in a
"condition much improved by my exertions.

"Let this action then evince the sincerity of the
"declarations I formerly made, when, being engaged
"in the late unhappy contest, I professed that my
"intentions were to obtain justice against the mur-
"derers of my father, and some relief to the com-

" monwealth from the evils with which it was af-
" flicted.

" I wish, indeed, that this task had never been
" imposed upon me; that the republic had never
" stood in need of my services; and that the fatal
" divisions we have experienced, had never taken
" place. But since the fates have otherwise decreed,
" and since the republic, young as I was, required
" even my assistance, I declined no labour, I shun-
" ned no danger, I made efforts above my years and
" my strength. Neither toil nor danger, neither the
" entreaties of my friends, nor the threats of my ene-
" mies, the tumults of the seditious, nor the fury of
" those who opposed me, could turn me aside from
" the pursuit of your good. I forgot myself; I be-
" came altogether yours. The event, with respect
" to you, is known; for myself, the only reward I
" desire, is the sense of having delivered my country
" from the evils under which it was suffering, and of
" having restored you to the state of peace and tran-
" quillity which you now enjoy. With these advan-
" tages, resume your political trust, and the forms of
" your constitution; take charge of your provinces,
" and the direction of your military forces; conduct
" every part according to the rules and precedents
" which are supplied by your ancestors.

" My conduct, in this resignation, will not appear
" unaccountable to those who have observed the
" moderation with which I have frequently declined
" the uncommon distinctions by which you offered
" to raise me above the level of my fellow-citizens;
" nor to those who know what is of real value in

" human life, will it appear a folly, that having such " an empire in my power, I choose to resign it. If " I am supposed to have any regard to justice, what " more just than that I should restore to you what is " your own? If I am supposed to be governed by " prudence, what more prudent, than to withdraw " from trouble, from general envy, and from the " snares of my enemies? If I am supposed to aim at " glory, the great object for which men have most " willingly exposed themselves to hazards and toils, " what more glorious than to dispose of empire to " others, and to rest secure myself in the honours of " a private station?

" Having the choice of many actions, which re- " flect honour on my father's memory, and may do " so on my own, these actions I prefer to any other; " *That, being offered the sovereignty of his country, he* " *refused to accept of it; and that I myself, being in* " *actual possession of that sovereignty, have resigned it.* " To these actions, the conquest of Gaul, of Mysia, " of Egypt and Panonia, the victories obtained over " Pharnaces, Juba, and Phraates, the passage of the " Rhine, and of the British sea, though far exceed- " ing the achievements of former times, are yet of " inferior account: even the merit of having con- " ducted to so glorious an issue the unhappy contest " in which we have been engaged, the having over- " come as enemies all who withstood our reforma- " tions, the having protected as friends all who were " pacific and well inclined to the commonwealth, the " having by moderation and clemency stript civil " war itself of many of its greatest evils, are not

" comparable to this, *That being in a condition to* " *reign, we have not been intoxicated with power: nei-* " *ther could he be seduced to accept of a crown which* " *was offered to him, nor I to retain a dominion which* " *is actually in my hands.*

" I do not mention any past action from ostenta- " tion, or with a view to profit by the advantage it " gives me, but merely to show, that I have fully " considered the step which I now take, and have " made it my choice, because I think it more glori- " ous than any other conduct I could hold.

" I might, indeed, (not to drag any more the name " of my father into this argument), challenge any " one to compare with myself in the part which I " now act. Being at the head of great and well ap- " pointed armies attached to my person; being master " of the seas within the pillars of Hercules; of all " the towns and provinces of this mighty empire, " without any foreign enemy, or domestic sedition " to molest me; being cheerfully acknowledged and " obeyed as sovereign in profound peace, I now will- " ingly, and of my own accord, from a regard to my " fellow-citizens, and from a respect for the laws of " my country, resign the whole.

" What I have to apprehend, is not your insen- " sibility to the merit of what I perform, but your " doubt of its reality, and of the sincerity of my in- " tention; but you give credit to illustrious examples " recorded of former times. You admit that the " Horatii and the Decii, that Mucius, Curtius, and " Regulus, exposed themselves to danger, even rush- " ed upon certain destruction, to establish for them-

" selves a reputation after death. Why should not " I, to enjoy, even during my lifetime, a fame far " superior to theirs, perform an action that is fit to " procure it? Were the ancients alone possessed of " magnanimity? or is the age become barren, and un- " able to bring forth such examples?

" Think not, however, that I mean to renew the " late public distractions, or propose to commit the " government to an unruly and factious multitude. " No; broken with toil, and overwhelmed with la- " bour as I am, I should prefer death to such a de- " sertion of the public cause. To you, my fathers, " who possess wisdom and virtue equal to the trust, " I resign this government. Weary with solicitude " and care, I retire from that envy which the best of " men cannot escape, and prefer the glories of a pri- " vate life to the dangers of empire. To your judg- " ments, and to that multiplicity of counsel which " must in wisdom ever excel the reason and under- " standing of any single person, I now commit the " republic. I therefore adjure you, in consideration " of any service which I may have rendered to my " country, either in a civil or military capacity, that " you will suffer me to retire in quiet, and give me " an opportunity to evince, that I know how to obey " as well as how to command; and that, while in " power, I imposed no condition upon others, with " which, as a subject, I am not myself willing to " comply. In this capacity, my conscience tells me, " that unguarded and unattended I may rely for " safety on your affection, and that I have nothing " to fear, either in the way of violence or insult.

" But, if there should be a danger from any secret " enemy, (for what person ever passed through scenes " like those in which I have acted, without creating " some private enemies?) it is better to die, than to " purchase security by enslaving my country. If the " event should be fatal, posterity at least will do me " the justice to own, that so far from seeking a king- " dom at the expence of the blood of other men, " I have freely resigned one at the hazard of my " own. Whoever wrongs me, will have the immor- " tal gods and you for their enemies; they will perish, " as the murderers of my father have perished; lea- " ving their names as monuments of divine justice " and wrath. In this, every one has had his just re- " tribution; my father is placed among the gods, and " is vested with eternal glory; his murderers have " undergone the punishment due to their crimes.

" All men are born to die; but he who dies, as well " as lives with honour, in some measure disappoints " his fate, and acquires a species of immortal life. I " have lived, as I trust, with honour; the other and " less arduous part of my task, I hope is likewise in " my power. I now, therefore, restore to you the " arms, the governments, the revenue, and all the le- " gal powers of the commonwealth. Be not dismay- " ed by the greatness of the object on the one hand, " nor receive it too lightly on the other. My counsel, " in what relates to matters of moment, shall be free- " ly given.

" Let the law be the unalterable rule of your con- " duct. In the administration of government, a de- " terminate order, though attended with some incon-

" veniency, is preferable to fluctuation and frequent " change, which aiming at improvement, renders the " condition of men precarious and uncertain.

" In private, therefore, as well as in public life, " comply with the laws; not as persons who aim at " impunity merely, but as persons who aim at the re- " wards which are due to merit.

" Commit the provinces, whether in peace or war, " to men of wisdom and virtue; do not envy each " other the emoluments that attend the public ser- " vice; strive not for profit to yourselves, but for " security and prosperity to the commonwealth; re- " ward the faithful, punish the guilty; not only con- " sider the public property as too sacred to be in- " vaded, but consider even your private possessions " as a debt which you owe to the State. Manage " well what is your own; covet not what belongs to " others; wrong not your allies or subjects; do not " rashly provoke any power to hostility, nor meanly " stand in fear of those who are disposed to be your " enemies. Be always armed, but not against each " other, nor against those who are inclined to peace. " Supply your troops regularly with what is appoint- " ed for their pay and subsistence, that they may not " be tempted to supply themselves by invading the " property of their fellow-citizens; keep them under " strict discipline, that they may respect their duty " as guardians of the public peace, and not become, " from a consciousness of their force, a school for " violence and the commission of crimes.

" Such, in general, are the rules of your conduct, " of which it is not necessary to make the particu-

"lar applications: these are sufficiently evident. One "thing only I will mention, before I conclude. If "you conform yourselves to these rules, you will be "happy, and will owe thanks to me, for having "placed the administration in your hands; but, if "you depart from them, you will make me to repent "of what I now do, and you will relapse into all "the disorders from which I have so happily rescued "the commonwealth."

Such is the tenor of an address, said to have been delivered by Octavius, in announcing his intention to resign the empire. The performance may not appear worthy of the person to whom it is ascribed, and, like other speeches recorded in ancient history, may have been framed by the historian *. The occasion however was solemn, and this declaration having been committed to writing, may have been preserved in the records of the Senate. The historian may have copied it from thence; or, if disposed to fabricate a speech, could not in this case, without detection, substitute any absolute fiction for what was real. The composition indeed may have suffered in the first translation †, as well as in this review of its contents; but the matter, though not such as might have been expected from the conqueror of the Roman empire on a serious occasion, and in the actual exertion of all his abilities, yet is such as we may suppose an impostor to have employed in supporting an assumed character, and in proposing what he did not wish to obtain.

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* Dio. Cass. † From the Latin to Greek.

The references which, in ushering in this pretended resignation, are made to the disorders of the late republic; the arguments which are made use of to prove the sincerity of a purpose to resign the government of it, and the ostentation of great merit in making this sacrifice, are well enough suited to the part which the speaker was acting, and to the solicitude under which he spoke, not to make too deep an impression, nor to be taken at his word. The barefaced and palpable imposture in which he was engaged, did not admit of the dignity which might have been expected in so high a place; and, if the history of this pretended resignation were not confirmed by the united testimony of many writers, and still more by the lasting effects of it, in the ostentatious farce of periodical resignation which it entailed on the empire, the want of sincerity in other parts of this business, as well as in the tenor of this speech, might create a doubt of its reality; but forms of resignation founded on this precedent, and the affectation of holding the government only for a limited term, being again and again repeated, great festivals *, at certain periods, were held on this account.

While this declaration sounded in the ears of the Senate, notwithstanding the many evils which had been felt under the republic, it is probable, that if Octavius had appeared to be sincere, his proposal to restore the commonwealth would have been received with joy. There were yet many who revered the ancient constitution, and lamented the loss of their

* The Decennalia.

own political importance. Some, who would have been glad to renew the competition for power and dominion which had been recently decided, and many, who would have rejoiced to find so much consequence at once devolve on the order of Senators, to which they themselves had been unexpectedly raised; but, as much care had been taken, in the nomination of members, to fill this assembly with unambitious men, who were likely to prefer peace to every other object, or with men of a servile cast, who would follow the cry, when raised, to confirm the Emperor's power, it is probable, that proper persons were specially prepared to lead the way in the part which the Senate was to take on this occasion.

The majority of the meeting, indeed, was surprised and perplexed. Although there could be no doubt that Octavius wished to have his proposal rejected; yet it would have been but an ill manner of paying court, to appear to have penetrated his design. It was necessary, therefore, to affect implicit faith in the sincerity of his purpose, at the same time to withstand the execution of it in the most peremptory manner. This ground being pointed out by those who were in the concert, or by those who had discernment enough to perceive it, was instantly seized by the whole assembly *. They beseeched Octavius, as with one voice, not to abandon the commonwealth; observed, that services, still greater than those he had already performed, were yet due to the republic; that the fear of his intending to resign the

* Zonar. lib. x, c. 34.

government, had already filled the minds of the People with a cruel anxiety; that he alone could quiet their apprehensions, by not only remaining at the head of the empire, but by accepting the government in such a formal manner, as would give them assurance of his continuing to hold it *.

To this request Octavius was inexorable; but, as a middle course, he was prevailed upon not to lay the whole load of administration at once upon the Senate. He consented to administer some part of the government for a limited time, and to retain the command of the army for ten years more; to continue his inspection over some of the most refractory provinces, such as were yet unsettled, such as were wild and uncultivated, such as had many inaccessible retreats, under the favour of which the natives still continued unsubdued, or still in condition to rebel. He agreed to take charge of such provinces on the frontier, as, being contiguous to warlike and hostile neighbours, were exposed to frequent invasion; but such as were already pacific, and accustomed to civil forms, such as were reconciled to their allegiance and to the tribute which they paid, he insisted that the Senate, as the more easy and profitable part of the government, should take under their own administration; and that they should be ready to relieve him of the whole, or any part of his burden, at the expiration of the period to which he limited his acceptance of the military command.

By this imaginary partition of the empire, the pro

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 11.

vinces which, in Africa, had formed the states of Carthage and Cyrene, with the kingdom of Numidia;—in Europe, the more pacific parts of Spain, the islands of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete; with the different districts of Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Dalmatia; and beyond the Ægean sea, the rich province of Asia, with the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus; were committed to the jurisdiction of the Senate.

The Emperor still retained, under his own immediate charge, the more warlike districts in Spain, in Gaul, and in Syria, with the kingdom of Egypt, and all the great military stations and resorts of the legions on the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine*. Some time afterwards, under pretence of a war which arose in Dalmatia, he accepted of this province, in exchange for the island of Cyprus, and the district of Narbonne.

It was understood, that the Emperor and the Senate, in their quality of partners in the sovereignty, should have the nomination of governors in their respective provinces; that those named by the Senate should be civil officers merely, with the title of Proconsul, but without the power of the sword or any military rank, and they were not to remain in office longer than one year; that the officers to be named by the Emperor, were to have military rank, with the title of Proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his lieutenants, accountable only to himself, and to hold their commissions during his pleasure †.

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* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 12. Strabo, lib. xvii, fine.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 15.

From the reformations which Octavius now made in the establishment of the provinces, it appeared that he himself clearly understood the circumstances by which those members of the empire had become too great for the head, and by which the dependencies of the republic had become the means of its ruin; that he looked back to the steps by which the first Cæsar and himself had advanced to dominion, and wished to efface the track, in order that no one might follow it, or employ the same means to supplant himself, which Julius Cæsar had employed to subvert the republic.

The provinces of the Roman empire had been hitherto not so much the demesne of the commonwealth, as the property of private citizens, by whom they were conveyed from one to another by quick succession. As they were received in trust for the republic, without any particular assignment of a share in the profits*, much remained at the discretion of those who commanded; or, where a great revenue was to be accounted for to the State, there was much extorted likewise, to enrich individuals, by peculation and oppression.

The officers of the republic returned from their stations abroad, with the spoils of the provinces, to

* The provincial officers under the republic had no salary, nor public appointments. They were understood to subsist at the expence of the provinces; and in their journeys were allowed to impress horses and carriages, and to demand every supply of provisions and forage for the numerous retinue or court that usually attended them. These powers being abused, it was proposed that the provincial officers should be supplied by contract; but the leaders of faction at Rome went forth to the provinces, with a power that could not be restrained by any rule whatever.

purchase importance at home. If they were frequently changed, the empty hand was often held out with fresh rapacity, and the full one brought back with quicker succession to corrupt the city: if continued too long, they acquired the force of great monarchs, got possession of armies, and the means to support them, or had sufficient resources of men and of money, to enable them to make war on the State. Marius and Sylla showed what could be done with armies levied from the opposite factions in the city of Rome; and Julius Cæsar showed what use could be made of the extensive territory, intrusted for a continued term of years to the government of the same person. The republic had often tottered under the effect of disorders which arose in the capital, but fell irrecoverably under the blows that were struck from the provinces.

It is evident, that imperial sovereignty, however constituted, whether in the form of a commonwealth or in the court of a monarch, could not be safe under this distribution of office and trust. Measures were accordingly now taken by Octavius, to reform the establishment, and to reduce the provincial governments to their proper state of subordination and dependence on the head of the empire. The taxes which were to be exacted for the public, and the emoluments of office, were clearly distinguished. The more extensive provinces were divided, and separate officers appointed to each division. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the Emperor and the Senate; nor was any officer, to whom a successor was appointed, to remain in his command,

or to absent himself from Rome, above three months* from the time of his recall. To secure the observance of these regulations, and to accelerate the communication from every part of the empire, an institution, resembling that of the modern posts, was for the first time introduced in the ancient world. Couriers were placed at convenient stages, with orders to forward the public dispatches from one to another. But it was afterwards thought more effectual for the purpose of intelligence, that the original messenger should continue his journey to Rome.

In this establishment, the Senate and the Emperor, in their respective civil and military characters, had their several departments, and their revenue apart; what was collected in the provinces of the Senate, went to the Ærarium or public treasury; what was collected in the provinces of Cæsar, went to the Fiscus or imperial coffers. The Emperor professed being no more than a servant of the public, appointed for a limited time; but, in being head of the army, and master of a great revenue, he secured the sovereignty, and meant to employ the Senate only as an aid in retaining the legions within the bounds of their duty. In his proposal to divest himself of his power, there was sufficient reason to suspect his sincerity; but in this partial and supposed temporary resumption of government, the artifice was so obvious, as to become a species of insult upon the understandings of mankind. The Romans, nevertheless, on this memorable occasion, having learned to be courtiers,

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 15.

could affect to want penetration, and conceal what they perceived.

The Senate, in return to the Emperor's gracious acceptance of the power to protect them, proceeded to distinguish his person, and even the place of his residence, by many honorary decrees. They took into their serious consideration, by what title he should for the future be known. That of King had always been odious at Rome; that of Dictator had been dreaded ever since the sanguinary exercise of its powers by Sylla, and it had, soon after the demise of Julius Cæsar himself, been formally abolished. The name of Romulus was proposed, and thought due to Octavius, as the second founder of Rome; but this name he himself rejected, not on account of the ridicule it bore, but on account of the implication of kingly power. The title of August, or the Awful, was in the end accepted by him, rather as an epithet of mere respect, than as the title of any new or unprecedented dignity in the commonwealth.

While the Senate bestowed on their Emperor this title of Augustus, they ordered that the court of his palace should be for ever hung with laurel, the badge of victories ever fresh in the minds of the People, and with wreaths of oak, the usual distinction of those who had saved a fellow-citizen in battle; signifying that the Roman People were preserved by his acceptance of the sovereignty, and by the wisdom of his administration.

Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Augustus. He had been some time the object of fear, and consequently of adulation to the

People, and was now soon to become the object of that fond admiration, with which the bulk of mankind regard those who are greatly exalted by fortune. Under the effect of this sentiment, in proportion as it became prevalent, citizens of every rank devoted themselves to Augustus; or, as they were told that the vassal devoted himself to his lord in some of the barbarous cantons of Spain and Gaul, they took an oath to interpose their persons in all his dangers, and, if he must die, to perish at the same time with him. The dying, under pretence of bequeathing some legacy to Augustus, introduced his name in their wills, with a lavish encomium or flattering character. Many appointed him sole heir, or, together with their children, the joint heir of all their fortunes. Some, on their deathbed, bequeathed particular sums to defray the expence of sacrifices to the gods for this signal blessing, *that Augustus was still living when they expired.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

State of the Emperor.—Condition of the empire.—Amount of the revenue unknown.—Military establishments, &c.

In what degree the court which began to be paid to Augustus, and which continued during his reign, proceeded from design and servility, or respect and affection, we must endeavour to collect from a further view of his life, and must suspend our judgment until the scene of his trial is passed. At the late formal establishment of the monarchy in his person, he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and had still the aspect of youth. His complexion is said to have been fair, his eyes bright, and his features regular and elegant; without those furrows or wrinkles which bespeak anxiety, care, or agitation of mind; of which dispositions, or of the appearances that betray them, he had so much the command, as, in restraining the immediate expression, to prevent any lasting trace or mark on the countenance *. He was well made in his figure, and though below the middling stature, had so much the proportions of a tall man, as, except when compared with some person who overlooked him, to appear above the ordinary size. Two-and-

* In this respect, his remaining busts in the Gallery at Florence are a perfect contrast to those of his relation Julius Cæsar.

twenty years of a life so little advanced, he had passed in the midst of civil wars, and in maintaining that contest for empire, which was begun by his adoptive father, and continued by himself. During seventeen of those years he had himself been a leader of party, and veered in his professions and conduct with every turn of fortune; at one time courting the Senate, by affecting the zeal of a citizen in behalf of the republic; at another time courting the veterans, by affecting concern for their interests, and a purpose to revenge their late general's death. He opposed himself to Antony, or joined with him, as suited with the state of his own affairs; made or broke concerts with the other leaders of faction; made and unmade treaties of marriage; even had intrigues of pleasure with women to forward his political designs*; and at an age when other young men have scarcely any object but pleasure, sacrificed every supposed private or public connection, and every friend and every enemy, to his ambition, or to the cool and deliberate consideration of his own conveniency or advancement.

By such means as these, Octavius became sovereign of the Roman empire at the age of three-and-thirty years; the same age at which Alexander, with the greatest efforts of ability and courage, which were afterwards marred by equal instances of intemperance and folly, effected the conquest of the Persian monarchy. Much, no doubt, in the fortunes of men, is to be imputed to accident. To this they owe, at least, great part of the occasions on which they act; but

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

the use of the occasion, and sometimes the preparation of it, is their own; and nothing besides the most consummate abilities can, through a great variety of scenes, retain the uniform appearance of a fortunate life. It is true, that Octavius, with the name of Cæsar, was become convenient or necessary to the military faction which he found already formed in the empire; that his youth, and other circumstances, prevented the alarm which might have led his antagonists to take more effectual and earlier measures against him. But he did not fail to improve these advantages; affecting, when necessary, to be the mere instrument of the army, or of the Senate, for obtaining their respective purposes; preserving the same discretion in every state of his fortunes; and, with the same address with which he supplanted every rival in the contest for power, continuing to avoid every offensive appearance in the model of his government, he still retained the forms of the commonwealth; and besides the title of Augustus, which the Senate had bestowed, did not introduce any new appellation of dignity or of office whatever *.

All the varieties of prerogative and power under the republic had been conferred in the titles of Consul, Censor, Augur, Pontiff, and Tribune of the Peo-

* The title of *Princeps* had been usually given to the person whose name was first in the rolls of the Senate, and Augustus assumed it in no other sense than this; that of *Imperator* had been given to every successful leader of an army, and in its application to Octavius, implied no pre-eminence above what other leaders had formerly enjoyed. These titles, indeed, by being from henceforward appropriated to the sovereign, acquired, by degrees, their significance in the original language; and in our translation of them into *Prince* and *Emperor*, are applied only to royal persons, and the sovereigns of extensive dominion

ple. Some of them could, even under that form of government, have been united in the same person, as that of Augur and Pontiff, with the office either of Consul or Censor; and there was no law to forbid the accumulation of such dignities in the hands of the same person; probably because it was deemed sufficiently difficult to arrive at any one of them apart. To constitute a despotic power, therefore, provided that these titles could be united in the same person, it was not necessary to introduce any new forms of office, nor even to assume the name of Dictator. It was more effectual to unite the prerogatives of separate stations in the person of one man, or to bestow them on persons who would be content to employ them at the pleasure of a master; and this method, accordingly, being suited to the wary policy and affected modesty of Octavius, could not escape him in the choice of his model.

In the character of Consul, the new Emperor presided in the Senate, and was first executive magistrate in the city. In the character of Tribune, he could not only suspend all proceedings, whether of administration, of public council, or of justice; but likewise could punish with instant death any breach of the peace, or any attempt that was made on his own person. In the quality of Censor, which was now comprehended in the office of Consul, he was the fountain of honour, could pry into every citizen's private life, and could promote or degrade, at pleasure, every person who had courted his favour, or incurred his dislike. In the quality of Augur and Pontiff, he could overrule the superstition of the times

And, last of all, in the quality of Imperator, or head of the army, he held at his disposal all the forces of the empire, both by sea and by land. The republic, at the same time, retained most of its forms. There were meetings of the Senate, and assemblies of the People; there were laws enacted, and elections made; affairs proceeded, as usual, in the name of the Consul, the Censor, the Augur, and Tribune of the People. The only change which had happened, and that which the Emperor endeavoured to disguise, was, that he himself acted in all these capacities, and dictated every resolution in the Senate, and pointed out every candidate who was to succeed in the pretended elections.

In these appearances of a head and members of government, which were preserved by Octavius, we are not to suppose that there was any image of that mixed constitution of monarchy, which subsists with so much advantage in some of the kingdoms of modern Europe. The Roman Senate, under the Emperors, was no more than a species of privy council, of which the members were named or displaced by the prince himself; and which, under some specious appearance of freedom of speech, were actually the mere instruments of his will, prepared to take the odium of harsh or invidious measures, while he reserved the more gracious and acceptable to himself.

The Comitia, or Assemblies of the People, had still less of their original dignity or power. We have had occasion to observe, that even under the republic, when the number of citizens, fit to array in the field of Mars, amounted to no more than four hundred

thousand men, it was impossible that any adequate number could be assembled for any purpose of legislation or election. In the present times, when the musters extended to four millions, and the Roman citizens were dispersed over the whole empire, the assembly of any proportionable number was still more impracticable. No precautions had ever been taken, even under the republic, to prevent the great irregularities to which the assemblies of the People were exposed, nor was it ever ascertained what numbers were necessary to constitute a legal assembly. In consequence of this defect, in the latter times of the republic, any tumultuary meeting, however thinly or partially assembled, took the sacred name of the Roman People, and gave officers to the state, or laws to the commonwealth. Every faction which, by violence or surprise, could seize the place of the assembly, so as to exclude their opponents, were masters of the elections, or sovereigns of the State.

After Julius Cæsar had taken possession of the city, he had no difficulty in commanding the elections, or dictating the resolutions of the People; he even planned the succession to office which was to take place in his absence, and, being to set out for Asia, named the officers of State for five years. The Triumvirs, in like circumstances, fixed the succession for different periods of an equal and greater length; and it was now understood, that the places of magistracy, though under the shew of popular election, were actually filled up by the Emperor.

The apparent respect which, under the present establishment, was paid to civil forms, implied no abate-

ment of the military power. On the contrary, instead of weakening, it served to support, as usual, the authority of that government under which these forms were observed. By flattering the People with an idea that their political consequence was still entire, this semblance of the ancient republic reconciled them to the state of degradation into which they were fallen. It vested the Emperor himself with a species of civil character, and with a political consideration which he could employ in support of his military power, and which, in some measure, secured him against the caprice of troops, who might think themselves entitled, at pleasure, to subvert what they alone had established. It enabled him to treat their mutinies as acts of treason, and as crimes of State. He was no longer obliged to court their favour, or to affect condescension, in order to obtain their obedience. He accordingly, in consequence of the late votes of the Senate, changed the style of his address to the legions, calling them *Milites*, not *Commilitones; Soldiers*, not *Fellow-soldiers*, as formerly.

This was probably the whole amount of the political establishment now made by Octavius, and which he meant to employ as a stock on which to engraft his despotic or military government. The Senate and assemblies of the People were retained only in name, and were far from having the energy of collateral members in the administration, such as could check or control the perpetual executive which was now established in the empire: but we shall nevertheless be disappointed, if, upon a supposition of absolute

power in the Emperor, we expect, in his court, the splendour and magnificence of a royal estate.

Octavius still lived in the house of Hortensius, a Roman Senator, which he occupied without making any addition to it, either in point of dimension or ornament. The equipage, retinue, or accommodation of the imperial family, was not composed for show and magnificence, as in monarchies long established. Such an attempt, indeed, in the eyes of a decayed republic, might have had an improper effect, might have moved envy, and not procured respect*. The Emperor, indeed, was attended with an armed guard; but this was intended for safety and not for parade. He preserved, in his own person, the exterior appearances of a citizen, was accosted by the simple name of Cæsar, and occasionally took his place in the Senate, in the theatre, in the public assembly, and in the bench of judges. At funerals he sometimes pronounced the oration that was delivered in honour of the dead; and even at the bar appeared in behalf of his clients †. The females of his house affected the virtue of notable housewives, and fabricated, with their own hands, the stuffs which he wore in his dress.

Thus, in respect to manners, and apparent elevation, the Emperor, with his family, was not raised above the condition of citizens; but he had full compensation in the extent and arbitrary effects of his

* We may read in the journal of a voyage made by Horace, in company with Mæcenas, that much retinue, or equipage, did not accompany great power, as they do in modern times. Vid. Sat. lib. i, sat. 5.

† Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 4.

power. While he retained the aspect of an equal, he took care to be master; and, because he could not have the state of a monarch, was more than a king. While he suffered the Senate and People to retain the ancient names and titles of sovereignty, he withheld from them the substance of any privilege whatever. He personated the simple Senator and the citizen with all the terrors of military power in his hands; and preserved the force of a tyrant, because he could not assume the precedence and authority of a legal sovereign.

If in this account of the Emperor's person and state our expectations of grandeur are not fulfilled, his dominions will surpass the highest and most enlarged conception we can form of their greatness. The Roman empire contained within itself, and in a very entire and prosperous condition, what had been the seat or territory of many famous republics and extensive empires, or what has since, in modern times, upon the revival of nations, furnished their possessions to no less considerable states and great monarchies. As it had swallowed up the states of Italy and Greece, Macedonia, the Lesser Asia, Syria, Egypt, Carthage, Numidia, Spain, and Gaul, to the Rhine and the Danube; so there have sprung from its ruins many states now formed within and without the Alps and the Pyrenees, the kingdoms of Portugal, Spain, and France, with all the divisions of the Ottoman empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa. These are its fragments, or shreds of the vast territory of which it was composed.

This empire seemed to comprehend within itself

all the most favourable parts of the earth; at least, those parts on which the human species, whether, by the effects of climate, or qualities of the race, have, in respect to ingenuity and vigour of mind, possessed a distinguished superiority. It extended to a variety of climates, and contained lands diversified in respect to situation and soil, distributing the productions of nature and art, so as to render its different divisions mutually useful and subservient to one another. The communication between these parts, though remote, was easy, and by a sea which, with the species of shipping then in use, and with the measure of skill which the mariner then possessed, could be easily navigated.

The Mediterranean being received into the bosom of this mighty empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coast, and to the inland parts an easier access to navigation, than could be obtained by any different distribution of its land and water. In consequence of this circumstance, the coasts of the Roman empire, without measuring very minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of some considerable as well as many smaller islands, may be computed at thirteen thousand miles; an extent which, if stretched into a single line, would exceed half the circumference of the earth. Over this extensive coast, the empire was furnished with numerous sea-ports, and the frequent openings of gulfs and navigable rivers; so that, notwithstanding the great extent of its territory, the distance of any inland place, the most re-

mote from the sea, does not appear to exceed two hundred miles.

In forming this compact, though mighty dominion, the republic had united, within its territories, all the principal seats of industry then known in the western world; had come into possession of all the sea-ports the most famous for shipping, and for the residence of merchants, who had conducted the carrying trade of the world. Its subjects were possessed of all the profitable arts; and, having all the means and instruments of trade, might be expected to reap all the fruits of commerce. But, in making these acquisitions, the capital of the empire had been a place of arms, and a mere nursery of statesmen and warriors, more occupied with the ideas of spoil and further conquest, than with the attentions necessary to promote the industry or the prosperity of the nations subjected to its power. And it is probable that the Romans, in reducing so many separate nations to the condition of provinces, greatly impaired the sources of wealth, at the same time that they suppressed the pretensions to independence and national freedom.

It might be hoped, that the peace now given to the empire, and the protection now extended to every province against the avarice and rapacity of subordinate oppressors, would revive the pursuit of lucrative arts, or encourage the Roman traders to settle where the natives themselves were not in capacity to pursue the advantages of their situation. But even these circumstances, without the aid of a happier government than that which was now in prospect, were not sufficient to repair the damage formerly sustained by

nations in their reduction and subsequent oppression. So that although Carthage, with all its dependencies, Egypt, Syria, the Lesser Asia, and Greece, with all the trading establishments in Spain or Gaul, were united under one head, we are not to suppose, that the wealth of the empire ever equalled the amount of what might have been estimated in the separate and independent states of which it was composed.

The commercial policy of Rome was limited, in a great measure, to the supply of Italy, and to the conveyance of what the provinces yielded to the treasury of the empire. Both these objects were intrusted to mercantile companies, who farmed the revenue, and who made commerce subservient to the business of their own remittances and exclusive trade.

It were, no doubt, matter of curiosity to know the whole amount of a revenue collected from so rich and so extensive a territory; but we are deprived of this satisfaction, by the silence of historians, or by the loss of records in which this subject was stated. Vespasian was heard to say, That a sum, supposed equal to about three hundred and thirty millions sterling, was required annually to support the imperial establishment *. This Emperor, being rapacious or severe in his exactions, might be supposed to exaggerate the necessities of the State; but as this sum is beyond the bounds of credibility, and must lead us to suspect a mistake in the numbers, it will not enable us to form any probable conjectures of the truth.

Under the republic, both the treasury of the State,

* Sueton. in Vespasian, c. 16.

and the fortunes of individuals, were supplied, in a great measure, by the spoils of vanquished enemies, brought to the capital with great ostentation by every victorious general. To this source of revenue we may join the presents that were made by foreign princes and states, together with the military contributions that were exacted from the provinces.

Julius Cæsar brought, at once, into the treasury sixty-five thousand talents, or about twelve millions and a half sterling. As the lustre of a triumph depended very much on the sums that were carried in procession, and placed in the Capitol, Roman officers were more faithful stewards of the plunder taken from their enemies, than they were probably of any other public trust.

It had been, for some time, the practice of the Romans to lay every burden on the conquered provinces, and to exempt themselves. This policy is dated from the conquest of Macedonia, the spoils of which kingdom being joined to their former acquisitions, put them in condition to effectuate this exemption for themselves. It was, however, but of short duration. The practice of taxing citizens was resumed in time of the civil wars; and the privilege, or rather the mere designation of Romans, being extended to the inhabitants of many parts of the empire, all the burdens that were borne by any subjects whatever, were, at the same time, laid on the inhabitants of Italy, and all the former distinctions gradually removed.

Under the establishment now made by Augustus, conquests were discontinued, or became less fre-

quent; and the returns made to the treasury, from the spoil of enemies, failed in proportion, but the avidity of receiving presents, the worst form under which extortion can be exercised, was still indulged, and, as in every other despotical government, became a considerable engine of oppression *.

The republic, for the most part, in the latter period of her conquests, entered on the possession of territories without any capitulation, and considered not only the sovereignty, but the property likewise of the land and of its inhabitants, as devolving on the State. They, in some instances, seized on the persons as well as the effects of the vanquished, and sold both to sale. They leased the lands at considerable quit-rents, or leaving them in the hands of the original proprietors, exacted, under the appellation of tithes, or fifths of corn, fruit, and cattle, a great share of the produce. By diversifying the tax, the burden was made to fall upon different subjects, or was exacted from different persons, and by these means the whole amount was less easily computed, or less sensibly felt. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already established in the countries they had subdued, or by imposing such new ones as suited their own character as conquerors, set examples of every species almost that is known in the history of mankind. Besides land-rents,

* There being no rule by which to limit the extent of a present, the person who receives it, allowing the giver to proceed as far as his means, or his desire to pay court, will carry him, still resents any imaginary defect, and employs terror and force to extort what he affects to receive as a gift.

they levied customs at sea-ports, excises on many articles of consumption, and a considerable capitation or poll-tax, in which they made no distinction of rank or fortune. These modes of taxation, already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy extending over the whole empire.

Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was imposed on the value of goods exposed to sale, were allotted directly for the benefit of the army, as a fund for the discharge of their pay, or an immediate supply for their subsistence and clothing; a sort of impropriation which served to fix it for ever. The country too, where any troops were quartered, was charged, for their use, with supplies of straw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, and provisions of every sort.

From such particulars, we may form some conception of the mode and tendency of Roman taxation, although we have no certain accounts, or even probable conjecture, of the amount of the whole. Under the present or preceding state of the Roman government, there was no principle operating in behalf of the subject, besides the spontaneous humanity or justice of those who exercised the sovereignty; and as the provinces under the republic had been ill protected against the rapacity of Proconsuls and Prætors, they were now considered, together with the republic itself, as the property of a master; and the examples of taxation, that were set by either, may instruct a sovereign how to profit by the wealth of

his subjects, rather than admonish a free people how to constitute a revenue, with the least inconvenience to themselves, or the least possible injury to the sources of wealth.

The situation of Italy, and the distribution of land and water in its neighbourhood, had made navigation familiar to the Romans in the earliest ages of the republic. A considerable part of their force, in many of their wars, consisted of shipping. The battle of Actium, which decided the fate of the empire, was fought on the water; and although the Romans, at this date, had subdued every nation within reach of the sea, and had no enemy to fear on that element, yet the transport of armies, the safety of their navigation, and the suppression of piracies, by which the supply of corn, and the conveyance of the public revenue from the provinces, were often interrupted, made a naval force, and a proper distribution of guard ships, necessary to the peace and government of the empire.

Three capital fleets were accordingly stationed by Augustus for the security of the coasts; one at Ravenna, near the bottom of the Hadriatic Gulf; one at Forum Julii, on the opposite side of the peninsula; and a third at Misenum, the principal promontory or head-land of Campania. Besides these, there were numbers of armed vessels destined to ply in all the gulfs or navigable rivers throughout the empire.

The ordinary military establishment consisted of about five-and-forty legions, besides cavalry and city or provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at six thousand

men, and making a reasonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thousand. Of the manner in which this army was distributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: On the Rhine, there were stationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Mysia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or Prætorian bands, to attend the person of the Emperor; and, together with these, three cohorts of a thousand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preserving the peace, in extinguishing fires, and in suppressing any other occasional disorder *.

For the further security of the empire, considerable territories on the frontier, which might have been easily occupied by the Roman arms, were suffered to remain in the possession of allies, dependent princes, or free cities and republican states, who, owing their safety to the support of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier against its enemies, were vigilant to observe, and ready to oppose, every attempt of invasion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman armies, and to support them with stores and provisions as oft as they had occasion to act on the neighbouring frontier. The republic had ever cultivated such alliances with powers who were contiguous to the place of their operations; although, in the course of their progress to empire, sometimes, after

* Tacitus, Lib. I.

having made the defence of their ally the pretence of a war, and after having availed themselves of his assistance, they, upon occasion of some breach or quarrel, joined the ally himself to the conquest which he had assisted them to make. The first part of this policy, which had been so useful in acquiring dominion, was still employed for its safety. And in pursuance of it, the kings of Mauritania, of the Bosphorus, of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Commagené, Galatia and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis and Judæa, together with the republican states of Rhodes, Cyrene, Pisidia and Lysia, under the denomination of allies, acted as advanced guards, posted in military stations on the frontiers of the empire, and being themselves encouraged by the prospect of a powerful support, were ready to withstand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be disturbed.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The family and court of Augustus.—The pretended resignation of the empire renewed.—The exercise of his power becomes less disguised.—Death of Agrippa.

In the Roman empire, thus subjected to a monarch, though planted with races of men the most famed for activity and vigour, it has been observed, that the materials of history became less frequent and less interesting than they had been in the times of the republic, while confined to much narrower bounds. Under the dominion of a single person, all the interesting exertions of the national, the political, and the military spirit, over great parts of the earth, were suppressed. Even in the capital of the world, so lately agitated with every difference of opinion or interfering of interests, the operations of government itself were become silent and secret. Matters of public concern, considered as the affairs of an individual, were adjusted to his conveniency, and directed by his passions, or by those of his family, relations, and domestics. The list of such persons accordingly, with their characters, dispositions, and fortunes, make a principal part in the subsequent history of this mighty empire.

Augustus still continued to employ Mæcenas and Agrippa as the chief instruments of his government.

To their abilities and conduct, in their respective departments, he in a great measure owed the prosperous state of his affairs. He likewise persevered in his attachment to Livia, whose separation from her former husband has been already mentioned. Together with the mother, he received into his family her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Of these Tiberius, born near the date of the battle of Philippi, was now about twelve years of age; Drusus, of whom she was pregnant, and whom she brought forth about three months after her marriage with Octavius, was now in his seventh year.

The Emperor having no children by Livia, was the father only of one daughter, famous by the name of Julia, born to him by Scribonia, the relation of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had contracted a marriage of political conveniency, and of short duration. Next to this daughter, in point of consanguinity, were his sister Octavia, the widow, first of Marcellus, and afterwards of Antony, with her children by both her husbands. Among these were, by her first husband, Marcella, married to Agrippa, and the young Marcellus *, who being married to the Emperor's daughter Julia, was looked upon as the undoubted representative of the Octavian and Julian families, and of course heir to the fortunes of Cæsar.

Such then are the persons to whom many parts in the immediate sequel of this narration will princi-

* In relation to this young man, Virgil, in flattering Augustus, has composed so many beautiful lines in the 6th book of the Eneid.

—— Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, &c.

pally refer; and such are the outset and first considerable lines of a very long reign, of which the materials will not furnish, nor the professed intention of this history require, a long or minute detail.

The establishment now made by Augustus has nearly completed the revolution of which it was proposed to give an account. The despotism, though exercised under the name of republic, and in the form of a temporary and legal institution, being in reality absolute, and without any qualification of mixed government, it could not be doubted that the same powers would be continued after the period for which they were now granted should expire, and that the empire, for the future, must for ever submit to the head of the army: But in what form of succession, or with what immediate effect on the character and condition of those who were subject to it, remain to be collected from the sequel of this and a few of the following reigns. Military government is almost a necessary result of the abuse of liberty, or, in certain extremities of this evil, appears to be the sole remedy that can be applied *. But, in order to know with how much care the evil itself ought to be avoided, we must attend likewise to the full effects of the cure.

It appears from the particulars which have been stated, relating to the first uses which Octavius made of his power, that he was not to be caught in the snare into which many others have fallen in conse-

* "Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse quam ut ab uno regeretur." Tacit. c. 9.

quence of great success. In his prosperity, he still retained his vigilance, his caution, and his industry, and relied upon these alone for the preservation of what he had gained. Though now secured by the pretended forms of a legal establishment, he continued attentive to what was passing in every part of the empire; frequently withdrew from the seats of adulation and pleasure in the city of Rome, to visit the provinces; and gave his presence wherever affairs of moment were in question, merely to extend the effects of his government, and to realize the dominion he had planned, without any view to farther conquest, or purpose of ostentation, whatever.

The peace which immediately followed the victories obtained on the coast of Epirus and in Egypt, was the circumstance on which Augustus chiefly relied for the recommendation of his government; and he seems, from inclination as well as policy, to have early entertained a maxim favourable to peace with foreign nations, and which he afterwards openly inculcated, *That the bounds of the empire should not be extended.* He himself had made some acquisitions in Dalmatia and in Pannonia. But his object, in making war in those countries, had been, rather to exercise and prepare his army for the conflict he expected with Antony, than for any purpose of extending his own conquests; and he reduced Egypt to a province, merely to extirpate the last remains of his rival's party, and to prevent further molestation from that rich and powerful kingdom. In his first plan of operations communicated to the Senate, he expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the present ex-

tent of the empire; but it was necessary to secure the frontier from invasion, and to ascertain, though not to extend, its bounds. Soon after his new model of government was established, he took measures accordingly to repress the disorder which subsisted in some of the provinces, and to reduce to obedience some cantons on which the State had already a claim of sovereignty, though not fully acknowledged. He proceeded to punish others, who, at the breaking out of the civil wars, had taken advantage of the general distraction of the empire to resume their own independency, or to make war on the Roman settlements. He had examples of both sorts to contend with in different parts; in Thrace, on the Rhine, and among the Alps, but chiefly in Spain.

Of all the provinces that became subject to Rome, those of Spain had been the most difficult acquisition; insomuch that, after all the wars so frequently renewed in that country, there were still some warlike cantons who continued to maintain their independence. Among these the Astures and Cantabri * being in actual rebellion, the Emperor himself, at the head of a powerful army, still pretending a design to invade Britain, passed into Gaul, and there having fixed a rate of taxation for the province, turned into Spain. He obliged the rebels, upon his approach, to quit their usual habitations, and retire to the mountains. But finding that they were likely to protract the war, and to engage him in a succession of tedious and indecisive operations, he fixed his quarters at

* Nations inhabiting the mountainous coasts of the Bay of Biscay.

Tarraco*, and left the command of the army employed on this service to C. Antistius and Carisius. Soon after his arrival at Tarraco he entered on his eighth Consulate. From that place he sent Terentius Varro to quell a rebellion of the Salassi and other nations of the Alps, and sent M. Vincius to punish some German tribes, by whom the Roman traders frequenting their country, or settled among them, had been massacred. He himself, while his generals were employed in these services, remained two years at his quarters in Spain; and upon the elapse of his eighth Consulate, assumed that office for the ninth time.

U. C. 727. Imper. Cæsar 8vo, T. Statilius Taurus. August. 2do, ætat. 36.

U. C. 728. Imperator Cæsar 9no, M. Junius Silenus. August. 3tio, ætat. 37.

During the residence of Augustus in Spain, arrived the famous reference or appeal from the Parthians, submitting to his decision a contest for the throne of their kingdom†. The competitors were Phraates and Tiridates. The first having been in possession of the throne, was expelled by a powerful insurrection of the people in favour of Tiridates: but, after a little time, having assembled his forces and allies, he attacked his rival, obliged him to fly in his turn, and to take refuge in the contiguous province of the Roman empire. This exile, having the son of his successful rival a prisoner, proceeded to Rome, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor in Spain. At the same time arrived an embassy from Phraates, then

* Tarragona.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 22, & 25. Orosius, lib. vi, c. 21. Velleius. Liv. Epitome, lib. cxxxiv. Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 33.

in actual possession of the kingdom, desiring that Tiridates should be delivered up to him, and that his own son should be restored. Both parties offered honourable terms to the Romans, particularly the restoration of all the captives, and of all the trophies taken, in their unfortunate invasions of that kingdom, either from Crassus or from Antony.

Augustus willingly accepted of these terms; and affecting to refer the Parthian dispute to the Roman Senate, gave instructions that the son of Phraates should be restored to his father, but that Tiridates should not be delivered up to his enemy *.

By this transaction, though a pacific one, the disgrace incurred by the Roman legions in Parthia was supposed to be entirely effaced. And it being said that Augustus, on this occasion, had performed, by the authority of his name, what other Roman leaders had attempted in vain by the force of their arms, he had a variety of honours decreed to him by the Senate. It passed, among other resolutions, that his name should be inscribed among those of the gods in the address of the public hymns; that one of the Roman tribes should be named the Julian tribe, in honour of him; that he should wear the triumphal crown at all public entertainments; that all Roman Senators, who had been present at any of his victories, should attend his triumphs dressed in purple robes; that the anniversary of his return to Rome should be observed as a festival; that he should have the nomination of persons to be honoured with the

* Justin. lib. xlii, c. 5. Dio Cass. lib. liii, c. 33. Velleius Pater. lib. ii, c. 94.

priesthood, and should fill up the list to any numbers he thought proper. From this time forward, accordingly, the number was supposed to be unlimited.

Soon after the conclusion of this negotiation with the Parthians, the operations of the armies in Spain and Germany were brought to a successful period. Caius Antistius being attacked by the Cantabri, obtained a complete victory, and obliged that people again to take separate retreats in the woods and mountains, where numbers of them were reduced by famine, and others, being invested in their strongholds, and in danger of being taken, chose to perish by their own hands.

Carisius was equally successful against the Asturi; obliged them to abandon their habitations, or to submit at discretion *.

Terentius Varro, having invaded the Salassi, or Piedmontese, on different quarters, made them submit to pay a contribution, and, under pretence of levying it, sent an army in separate divisions into their country; and thus having them at his mercy, exercised a cruelty, of which too many examples are to be found in every period of ancient history. He ordered, that all the children and youth of the nation, thus taken by surprise, should be exposed to sale; the buyer being required to come under engagements, that none of the wretched victims, thus bought for slaves, should be restored to freedom, or allowed to return to their own country, till after an interval of twenty years †.

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* Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 25. † Ibid. c. 15.

About the same time Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and from the Senate the offer of a triumph, to celebrate the victories gained by his lieutenants. The last of these honours he declined; but took occasion to exhibit games in Spain, in name of his nephew Marcellus and of his step-son Tiberius, whom he wished to recommend to the army by this act of munificence. He likewise distributed lands, both in Spain and in the Cisalpine Gaul, to the soldiers who were now discharged from the legions, and on this occasion built the Augusta Emeritorum * in Spain, and the Augusta Prætoria † on the descent of the Alps towards Italy. In conformity with his general plan of dividing the provinces, he separated Spain into three governments, the Boetica, Lusitanica, and Taraconensis. The first was included under the department of the Senate, the other two had been reserved to himself.

Gaul was, at the same time, divided into four separate governments; the Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Celtica or Belgica. Upon this increase of the number of provinces, additional officers, particularly in the capacity of Quæstors, became necessary. All who had, for ten years preceding the date of these arrangements, held the office of Quæstor in the city, without succeeding to any foreign employment, were now ordered to cast lots for the vacant stations.

The general peace being again restored, by the successful operations of the army in different quar-

* Now Merida. † Now Aosta.

ters of the empire, the gates of Janus once more were shut, and a column was erected on a summit of the Alps, bearing an inscription, with the names of forty-eight separate nations or cantons, who were now reduced to obedience under the auspices of Augustus*.

U. C. 729. Imper. Cæsar, 10mo. C. Norbanus Flaccus. August. 4to. ætat. 38.

The Emperor being on his return to Rome, and having accepted of a tenth Consulate, the ceremony of his admission into office was performed before his arrival on the first of January, with a renewal of the oaths formerly taken by the People, that they would in all things conform to his decrees. The Senate, at the same time, having notice that he intended to make a donation to the People, amounting to a hundred denarii for each person; but that from respect to the laws which gave them a negative on such donations, he meant to defer the publication of his intention until he had their consent; they immediately passed a decree, giving him full exemption from every law or form of the commonwealth, and empowering him† to govern in all matters according to his own will. This decree, of which the effect was not so much to vest him with any new powers, as to remove the veil from that power of which he was already possessed, it is probable, from his caution in other matters, he would have gladly avoided. At his return, after so long an absence, he was received by all orders of men with demonstrations of joy. Having already been flattered in his own person with

* Plin. lib. xix, c. 1.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 28.

every mark of distinction and honour, he was now courted in the person of his favourite nephew Marcellus. This young man was admitted, by a formal resolution, to a place in the Senate among the members of Prætorian rank, and was allowed to sue for the Consulate ten years before the legal age. Livia too had a share in these flatteries, by a like privilege bestowed on her son Tiberius, though, in order to retain some distinction between the favourite nephew and the step-son of the Emperor, the act in favour of Tiberius only bore, that he might sue for the Consulate five years before the legal age.

In the mean time Marcellus held the office of Ædile, and Tiberius that of Quæstor. The first, to signalize his magistracy, ordered that such part of the forum or space in which the courts of justice were held, which till then had been always uncovered and exposed to the open air, should be shaded with a covering or awning of cloth *.

During the absence of the Emperor, the plans which had been formed for the better government of the city, for adorning it with public buildings, and for repairing the highways throughout Italy, were carried into execution by Agrippa. The repair of the highways had been assigned, in separate lots, to such of the Senators as were supposed in condition to defray the expence of it; and, among these, the Flaminian Way had been assigned to Augustus himself. The town was divided into quarters or districts,

* "Quantum mutatis moribus Catonis censorii qui sternendum quoque forum muricibus censuerat." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iii, c. 20

under proper officers, annually chosen or taken by lot; and a watch was established, to prevent disorders, and to guard against fire.

The channel of the river, in a great measure choked up with heaps of rubbish from the ruins of houses, that formed considerable banks and islands in the midst of it, and, at every flood, forced great inundations into the streets, was now effectually cleared *. The Septa Julia, or place of assembly called the Julian Place, in honour of the Emperor, was repaired, adorned, and dedicated. A temple was erected to Neptune, in memory of the late naval victories. The front of the Pantheon, which bears the name of Agrippa, was finished about this time; within was placed, among the images of the gods, a statue of Julius Cæsar; in the portico were placed those of Augustus and his favourite, by whom the work was completed †.

The Emperor, upon his approach to the city, published, by virtue of the power lately conferred upon him by the Senate, his intention to distribute to the citizens a hundred denarii a man. In this it appears that the Roman People had still retained the worst and most corrupting part of their republican privileges, that of receiving gratuities in money, as well as corn, together with that of being frequently entertained with expensive shows. By the first they were supported in idleness, and by the other taught dissipation, and made to forget the state of political de-

* Sueton. in August. c. 29. 30.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 22, &c. &c.

gradation into which they were fallen. At the games exhibited in the preceding year by the Prætor Servilius, it is said, that three hundred bears, and an equal number of African wild beasts, were baited or hunted down *.

The restoration of peace being a principal point on which Augustus valued himself with the Public, the gates of Janus, in a few of the first years of his reign, had been already three times repeatedly shut †. But on a frontier so extensive, beset on the one side by fierce nations, jealous of their liberties, and on the other, by armies, whose commanders were fond of opportunities to distinguish themselves, it was not possible long to avoid every species of war. Soon after the Emperor had withdrawn from Spain, leaving the command in Lusitania to L. Æmilius, the Cantabri and Astures, still impatient of the dominion to which they had recently, in appearance, made a perpetual submission, took a resolution again to shake off the Roman yoke. Proposing to make the first effect of their design to be felt by a stroke of importance, they enticed a considerable part of the Roman army into their country, under pretence of furnishing them with a supply of corn; and when they found them dispersed in small parties to receive the proposed distribution, they put the whole, or the greater part, to the sword. In revenge for this piece of treachery, Æmilius laid their country under military execution, and by a barbarous policy, to prevent

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 27.

† Sueton. in August. c. 22.

future revolts, cut off the right hands of the prisoners whose lives he spared *.

At the same time Augustus himself, though somewhat contrary to the general system of his reign, entertained a project of extending the Roman settlements, or at least of making discoveries on the side of Arabia, and towards the coast of the Indian seas. He was tempted, probably, by the prospect of getting access to the rare and costly commodities, which the Arabians were known to receive from India †, and which they sold in the markets of Egypt and Asia at their own price. He expected to refund the expence of his armament, from the great treasures of gold and silver, which the Arabians were supposed to possess.

For this purpose Ælius Gallus, the Prætor of Egypt, was intrusted with the conduct of an expedition to the Gulf of Arabia. This officer spent a considerable time in fitting out a fleet of armed ships, which he afterwards found to be unnecessary, as the Arabians were mere traders, and had no ships of force. In passing the gulf with one hundred and thirty transports, he, by the unskilfulness of his mariners and pilots, sustained a great loss both in shipping and men; and in the delays which he afterwards incurred, or in attempting to penetrate the deserts of Arabia eastward, he lost a great part of his army, which perished by want of water, or by disease. And

* Sueton. in August. lib. liii, c. 29.

† Strabo mentions, that in the port of Nu, there were above 100 ships from India.

thus, after a fruitless attempt, in which he spent many months, returned to Alexandria with a small part of his army, without having gained any considerable advantage, or even obtained information of the sources of wealth which he was sent to explore*.

While these transactions passed in the provinces and on the frontier of the empire, Augustus, then residing at Rome, entered on an eleventh Consulate. His colleague in the beginning of the year was Terentius Varro Murena. But this Consul died in office, and was succeeded for the remainder of the year by C. Calpurnius Piso.

U. C. 730. Imper. Cæsar, IIImo. Tribunus plebis, Terentius Varro Murena n ort. C. Calpurnius Piso. August. 5to, ætat. 39.

Augustus himself, in this Consulate, was taken ill; and being supposed in danger, called his colleague, with a number of the principal Senators into his presence, to receive his last admonitions relating to the empire. The title by which he affected to hold the government, could not support him in pointing out a succession. He accordingly made no mention of any successor to himself, but delivered to the Consul Piso, as being first officer of State, the memorials he had drawn up relating to the revenue and other public establishments. He gave to Agrippa his ring; which was the badge of his nobility, and which, according to the ideas of the Romans, had an emblematical reference to his power. He seemed to overlook his nephew Marcellus, though at this time the first in his favour, and probably de-

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 29. Zonaras. lib. x. c. 34. Plin. lib. vi, c. 28. Strabo, lib. ii, p. 118. Ibid. lib. xvi, p. 781.

stined to inherit his fortune. This circumstance, together with the general opinion of his dissimulation, made it be suspected that he had no real apprehensions of dying, and that he called his friends to this solemn audience, merely to show, on a supposed deathbed, his respect for the commonwealth. To elude the penetration of those who suspected his arts, and whom he still continued to dread, after his recovery, he desired that the will which he had made on this occasion should be publicly read; but the Senate, already knowing the contents, and affecting to believe, without this evidence, the sincerity of his intentions to restore the republic, refused to comply. They appointed great rejoicings on account of his recovery, and amply distinguished or rewarded the physician, to whose skill it was supposed that they owed the preservation of so highly valued a life *.

Although the circumstance of Augustus not having mentioned his nephew Marcellus, and the honour he had done to Agrippa, were probably not the effects of any serious design respecting the succession, they nevertheless became a subject of jealousy in the mind of the young man, and soon after occasioned the retirement of Agrippa from the court. This officer, under pretence of going into Syria, where he was appointed to command, set out from Rome, but stopped at Mitylené in the island of Lesbos, where he lived in retirement, and seemingly disengaged from any part in the public service.

During the stay of Agrippa at Mitylené, and in

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii. c. 31.

less than a year after his departure from Rome, happened the death of Marcellus; an event which Livia was, by some, alleged to have hastened, in order to make way for the advancement of her own sons; but the sickliness of the season, and the mortality at Rome, during the two preceding years, might have accounted for the death of Marcellus, without any supposition of unnatural means *; and the event itself brought no immediate advantage to the sons of Livia. It was followed by the recall of Agrippa, and by a new arrangement, which removed the Claudian family still farther from the place to which the mother was desirous to raise them in the consideration and favour of the Emperor.

Augustus had now, for some years, without intermission, assumed and exercised the office of Consul; but thinking its authority no longer necessary to support his power, he divested himself of the title, and gave a fresh proof of his moderation, by substituting in his room L. Sestius, one of the few who were still supposed to regret the fall of the republic. Sestius had been the friend of Marcus Brutus, adhered to the cause of the commonwealth in every period of the civil wars, and, though spared by the victors at Philippi, still ventured to retain the statue and picture of his friend, who perished in the last struggle for freedom.

The magnanimity of Augustus, in getting over these objections to the character of Sestius, was not passed in silence by the flatterers of his court; nor

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 32, 33.

was his declining the Consulate overlooked by the Senate, in their zeal to devise new honours and additional concessions. The character of Tribune, which had been annually conferred on the Emperor for some years, was, on the present occasion, rendered perpetual in his person; and the privilege of proposing matters for the consideration of the Senate, hitherto appropriated to the Consuls in office, was now likewise extended to him. As a compensation for the dignity of Consul, which he now declined, he was declared perpetual Proconsul, both at Rome and in the provinces, and empowered to supersede every governor within the precincts of any province into which he should come *. He was, at the same time, pressed to accept the title and power of Dictator.

U. C. 731. M. Claudius Marcellus Aserninus, L. Arruntius. August. 6to, ætat. 40.

The People, attacked with a plague or contagious distemper, which, in the usual mode of their superstition, they considered as a punishment inflicted by the gods for some public offence, and in particular for their having suffered the Emperor to divest himself of the Consulate, proposed that he should instantly assume this or a higher dignity. To effect this purpose, while the Senate was assembled, multitudes crowded together in a riotous manner, and with threats required that Augustus should be instantly vested with the title and powers of Dictator. And, to lose no time in the execution of this design, they collected twenty-four fasces, the number usually carried before this officer, and repairing to the

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 32.

Emperor's residence, called upon him to assume his power, and to rescue the People from their present calamities.

Augustus, probably unwilling to risk the credit of his name on the success of such a recipe for the cure of an evil, took this opportunity to establish his character for moderation. He entreated the People to desist from their purpose of reviving a power which the laws had abolished; and when still importuned, appeared to be greatly agitated, tore his clothes*, and gave other signs of extreme distress. Being likewise pressed to accept of the office of perpetual Censor, he, in the same manner, declined it, recommending, for the immediate discharge of its duties, P. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus.

In acting this part, it is probable that the wary Emperor guarded against the fate of Julius Cæsar; and that having provided for all the real objects of his ambition, he preferred security to the ostentation of power, and relied more on the caution with which he avoided offence, than he did on the vigilance of his informers and spies, or on the terror of his arms. He could not, however, at all times, avoid having recourse to these means of defence. During his present abode at Rome, he received information of a design formed on his life by Muræna and Fannius Cæpio, and brought them to trial. Velleius Paterculus, without any scruple, affirms the guilt of these supposed conspirators; but Dion Cassius insinuates, that the guilt of Muræna, at least, was mere indiscretion,

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 1.

or an unguarded freedom of speech, with which he was accustomed to censure the conduct of his superiors, rather than any formed design of so criminal a nature.

Muræna was the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, and himself appeared to be in favour with Augustus. Upon the surmise of an intention to seize him, together with Fannius, both absconded and fled. They were arraigned and tried in absence; but as the judges still had the option of voting by secret ballot, the majority availed themselves of this privilege to stop the prosecution, without incurring the resentment of the prosecutor.

The use of the secret ballot in criminal trials, when first introduced in the republic, served to elude the Senate's authority, or to favour popular disorders; and, no doubt, had a tendency adverse to justice. But now, when it might have been salutary, as serving to elude the terror of despotism, at least in all State Trials, it was, under pretence of the false judgment given in the case of Muræna and Cæpio, so far abolished, as that all persons who fled from trial, or who declined appearance, were, by an express statute, deprived of its benefit*; and this circumstance deserves to be mentioned as the first instance, perhaps, in which the judicial forms of the republic, formerly partial to the interests of the People, began to be openly changed in favour of despotism. This innovation was probably the more fatal in the sequel, that the Emperor himself, under pretence of giving

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 3.

evidence, of urging prosecutions, or of appearing as an advocate for his clients, frequently attended the courts *. And it cannot be doubted, that as often as he appeared †, the part which he took, whether as a witness or as a pleader, must have had very great and improper influence in the cause.

In the beginning of this reign, are dated some regulations calculated for the peace and general order of the city. Among these, it is mentioned, that the number of Prætors was reduced to ten; and that two of this number were appointed to inspect the public revenue ‡; that some feasts, which had been customary, were prohibited, and the expence of others restrained within moderate bounds; that the care of the public shows was intrusted to the Prætors, with a competent allowance from the treasury to defray the expence of such entertainments, but under an express prohibition to add, as candidates for prefer-

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 3. Sueton. in August. c. 56.

† Among the remarkable trials of this period, is mentioned that of M. Primus, who having the command of Macedonia, was accused of having, without orders, made war on the Odrysians, a Thracian nation. He pleaded the orders of Augustus or of Marcellus; but the Emperor himself attending the trial, denied his having ever given such orders, and the defendant was condemned. He is said, at another time, to have appeared in behalf of his confidents Apuleius and Mæcenas, who were arraigned of some undue influence in protecting a person under prosecution for adultery. After the prosecutor began to open the charge, Augustus himself came into court, and commanded him not to traduce his relations and friends; a stretch of power which, under legal government, ought to have given offence; but in the present state of the Romans, only put the subject in mind, how necessary it was for himself to court the imperial favour; and it was decreed accordingly, by the unanimous votes of all the Senators, that in memory of this gracious interposition of the Emperor, an additional statue should be erected to him.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 32.

ment had been hitherto inclined to do, from ambitious motives, above an equal sum from their own private estates. The shows of gladiators were subjected to the control of the Senate, and the number of pairs to be exhibited, on any particular occasion, restricted to sixty. The care of extinguishing and guarding against fire, being in the department of the Ædiles, a body of six hundred men, destined to this service, was put under the command of these magistrates. Persons of rank having given occasion of scandal, by presenting themselves as dancers or performers on the public theatre, such examples were strictly prohibited.

As the Emperor ever affected a desire to be entirely relieved of the government, he accompanied his most popular acts and regulations with a formal and ostentatious resignation of some particular parts of his power. The provinces of Narbonne and of Cyprus, which had been originally part of his trust, being in the first period of his reign restored to peace, he formally resigned them into the hands of the Senate. But while he was occupied with these pacific or popular measures, the Astures and Cantabri, notwithstanding their former distresses, still passionately fond of their expiring liberties, having revolted yet a third time, were again reduced with great slaughter. Most of those who escaped from the swords of the Roman legions, perished by their own hands *. While this event, in appearance, terminated all the troubles which subsisted in the western

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 4.

part of the empire, an alarm was received from Egypt, of a formidable enemy appearing to intend the invasion of that kingdom. The Ethiopians, probably encouraged by the low state to which, from the unfortunate expedition of Gallus against the Arabians, they supposed the Roman forces on the Nile to have been reduced, had, by the time that the alarm had been communicated to Rome, actually entered the province; but, before any assistance could arrive from other parts of the empire, this enemy was repulsed by Petronius, who succeeded to Gallus in the government of Egypt.

While these events were still unknown in the capital, the Emperor had taken his resolution to present himself in Egypt, for the defence of that province, and was set out on his voyage. Having put into Sicily in his way, while he yet remained in this island, the usual election of Consuls came on at Rome *. He himself was named, together with M. Lollius Nepos; but he declined accepting of the office, and affected to leave the Roman People, as of old, to a free choice. This novelty gave rise to a warm contest, in which Quintus Emilius Lepidus, and L. Silanus, appeared as competitors, and were supported by numerous parties of their friends. The People began to recover the remembrance of their former power, and were encouraged or supported by the candidates in a sort of disorder or licence, from which they had for some time been restrained. Augustus himself was alarmed

U. C. 752. Q. Emilius Lepidus, M. Lollius Nepos. August. imo, ætat. 41

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 5, 6.

with these appearances of a reviving republic, summoned both the candidates to attend him in Sicily; and having reprimanded them for the disturbances they gave, forbade them to appear at Rome, until the approaching elections were passed. The competition, nevertheless, was carried on with great warmth in absence of the candidates, and ended with much difficulty in favour of Lepidus.

This specimen of disorder, perhaps no more than is common in popular elections, now appearing dangerous to a power, which was founded on the suppression of all free competitions, probably induced the Emperor to hasten the recall of Agrippa, as a person on whom he could devolve the care of a troublesome city. The breach which had been some time made in his family, by the death of Marcellus, remained unrepaired; and he seems to have hesitated in the choice of the person whom he was to place next to himself in power, and in succession to the government. His daughter Julia, the widow of Marcellus, had yet brought no addition to his offspring. She was now to be disposed of in a second marriage, and was likely to bestow on her husband all the prospects of an heir apparent to the fortunes of her father. It is said, that Mæcenas advised the Emperor to make choice of Agrippa. *This man*, he said, *is already too high to remain where he is: he must be lifted up to a place yet higher, or be cast to the ground* *.

Agrippa was accordingly, about this time, made to part with Marcella, the niece of Augustus, to whom

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 6.

he had been some time married, in order that he might become the husband of Julia, and by this title the first in the family of Cæsar.

The Emperor, while in Sicily, having bestowed on the city of Syracuse, and on other towns of that island, the privilege of Roman colonies, and having made some other arrangements for the better government of the province, continued his voyage from thence into Greece. As he passed through Sparta and Athens, he treated the inhabitants of those once eminent cities with marks of favour or displeasure, according to the part they had taken in the late division of parties in the empire.

The Spartans had, with proper hospitality, received Livia in her flight from Italy, and, in return, were now honoured with the presence of the Emperor at one of the public meals, which they still affected to retain in memory of their ancient institutions. They likewise received a grant of the island of Cithera, which formerly had belonged to their territory.

The Athenians, on the contrary, it is said, were reminded of their partiality to Antony and Cleopatra, and of the singular ostentation with which they admitted the Queen of Egypt a citizen of Athens. In resentment of this behaviour, they were deprived of their sovereignty in Egina and Eretria, and forbid to receive any presents in return for the freedom of their city; a distinction which, it seems, was still earnestly courted, and from the sale of which they derived some revenue.

From these visits to Sparta and Athens, the Emperor proceeded to Samos, where he remained for the

winter *. Here he not only had a confirmation of the reports already mentioned, relating to the success of Petronius against the Ethiopians, but received an embassy from this people to sue for peace. They had addressed themselves to the Præfect of Egypt; and being referred to the Emperor, desired that they might have guides to conduct them to him. *This Emperor*, they said, *or the place of his abode, we know not*. Being conducted to Samos, on the route by which Augustus was expected to arrive in Asia, they obtained a peace, without any of the submissions or unequal conditions by which the Romans were formerly accustomed to prepare the way, in every treaty, for the farther extension of their conquests †.

U. C. 735. M. Apuleius. P. Silius Narva. August. 8vo, ætat. 42.

In the spring which followed, Augustus passed from Samos to Bithynia, in which, though one of the provinces which had been committed to the administration of the Senate, he, by his own authority, ventured to make some reformations; and upon a complaint, that the people of Cyzicum had insulted with the rod, and put to death some Roman citizens, he stript them of several immunities which they had hitherto enjoyed. From thence, he continued his progress into Syria, and there likewise inflicted severities on the citizens of Tyre and Sidon, to repress their seditions, or punish their disrespect to his government ‡.

The Parthians had not yet restored the Roman

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 7. † Strabo, lib. xii, p. 821.
‡ Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 9.

captives, or the trophies, of which they had got possession on the defeats of Crassus and Antony. This was the condition on which the king had obtained the release of his son. And being now reminded of it, or alarmed by the approach of the Roman Emperor to his frontier, he sent an embassy to perform this article of his late agreement. But of the Roman prisoners, many, soon after they were taken, perished by their own hands; others, being reconciled by degrees to their condition, and having settled in the country, were unwilling to remove. Numbers concealed themselves from the persons who were sent to assemble and conduct them to the frontier, and but a few were recovered. These, together with the restored standards and other trophies, were conducted with great pomp to the city of Rome.

Augustus had already received the congratulations of the Senate and People, on the conclusion of his treaty with the Parthians, and knowing how much it was become a point of honour at Rome to repair the disgrace which Roman armies had incurred on the Euphrates and the Tigris, he indulged, on the conclusion of this transaction, a decree of vanity, which was unusual with him on other occasions. He ordered the rites of thanksgiving that were usually appropriated to the greatest victories; gave instructions to erect a triumphal arch; and he himself, upon his return to Rome, entered the city in triumph.

The Romans, in conferring honours on those who performed any service, considered the advantage they had gained, more than the means by which it had been obtained, and indulged, with all the distinctions

which military courage or personal ability could claim, every officer, under whose auspices they prospered, whether by artifice or valour *. On this principle, Augustus, without having performed any military operation whatever, took occasion to triumph over an enemy, before whom the armies of Antony and Crassus had perished.

The object of the Emperor's journey to the East having been obtained by the restoration of peace to Egypt, he did not proceed in his progress beyond the province of Syria. From thence, in his letters to the Senate, he disclaimed every intention or wish to extend the bounds of the empire, and distributed kingdoms on the frontier to the princes of Asia, who were considered as confederates or allies of the Romans. Among these, he gave to Tarcondimotus a principality in Cilicia; to Archelaus, the Lesser Armenia; to Herod, over and above his own kingdom of Judæa, the principality of Zenodorus, in its neighbourhood. He restored a prince, of the name of Mithridates, to the kingdom of Commagené, from which his father had been expelled; and, at the request of the people of Armenia, sent his stepson Tiberius Claudius Nero, now about twenty years of age, with a commission to remove Artabazus, then in possession of that kingdem, and to declare Tiridates, who was still at Rome, to be its sovereign. This revolution in Armenia, however, was, by the death of Artabazus, who fell by the hands of his own subjects, in part effected before the arrival of Tiberius.

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 8.

While the Emperor was thus employed in the provinces, the ordinary succession of magistrates took place at Rome, and he himself being named Consul, together with Caius Sentius, again declined the title, without recommending a substitute. Great animosities arose among the candidates for this honour. Agrippa had been called away into Gaul, upon an alarm received on the German frontier, and from thence into Spain, to quell another revolt of the Astures and Cantabri. In his absence, the Consul Sentius and the Senate, unable to repress the tumults which arose in the city, sent a deputation to the Emperor, who was still in Asia, to know his pleasure respecting the election, and, in return, had a fresh proof of his magnanimity and candour in the recommendation of Lucretius, a known partisan of the republic, and one of those who, being obnoxious to the triumvirate and among the proscribed, had escaped from the massacre.

Augustus, during his stay in Syria, had accounts of the birth of a grandson Caius, the eldest of the sons of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia, and had a copy of the decree, by which the Senate annexed the anniversary of his birth to the days of public rejoicing. On his way to Italy, he passed another winter in Samos, where he received the ambassadors of many nations, and, among these, an embassy from India, attended with a numerous retinue, and charged with a variety of presents *. But what probably

U. C. 734. C. Sentius Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Vespillo. Ex Kal. Julii, M.

* Among these, are mentioned by Strabo a snake ten cubits long, though it appears from Suetonius, lib. xv, p. 719, that a snake of a much greater length was

Venucius. Vipsanius Agrippa. August. 9no, ætat. 43.

most entertained the curious in the western world, was the exhibition of an Indian Sage or Brahmin, who having taken his resolution to die, was ambitious to make his exit in presence of the Roman court. Being indulged in this desire, and flattered with the attendance of a numerous crowd of spectators, he prepared a funeral pile, which he set on fire, and, with much ostentation or deliberate state, threw himself into the midst of the flames *. His tomb was marked with the following inscription: *Here lies Tarmarus or Tarmanochegas, an Indian of Bargosa, who, in the manner of his country, ended his days by a voluntary death* ‡. In such actions, we may perceive the powerful attraction of glory, from whatever sort of performance it be supposed to arise.

When the Emperor's intended return was announced at Rome, many honours were decreed to him, all of which he declined, except that of having an altar erected on the occasion to Jupiter Redux, and that of having the day of his arrival inserted, under the title Augustalia, among the festivals of the kalendar. On his approach to the city, the magistrates and the people prepared to go forth in procession to receive him; but either from an aversion to pageantry, which he ever shunned, except when subservient to some useful purpose, or from a desire of procuring fresh encomiums of moderation, he made his entry in the

exhibited in the public spectacles at Rome, fifty cubits. Sueton. in August. c. 43.

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 8, 10, 11. Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 7.

‡ Strabo, lib. xv, p. 720.

night, to avoid this compliment. On the following day, he procured resolutions of the Senate and People, promoting Tiberius, the eldest of the sons of Livia, to the rank of Prætor, and bestowing on Drusus, the younger brother, the privilege of standing for any of the ancient honours of the commonwealth five years before the legal age. He himself, at the same time, accepted the office of Censor, with a new title, that of Inspector of Manners *, for five years.

This new designation was annexed to the titles of Augustus, under pretence that such an authority was wanting to take cognisance of the disorders committed in the late canvass for the election of Consuls; but, as the period was near approaching, at which he was to repeat the form of resigning the government, it is probable, that he chose to be vested with the authority of Censor, in order to make the arrangements preparatory to this ceremony.

Near ten years had elapsed since the rolls of the Senate had been made up, and in this interval many reasons may have occurred for removing some of the members, and for substituting others. The authority of Censor, with which the Emperor was now vested, enabled him, without any unprecedented exertion of power, to effect his purpose; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, his usual caution led him to seek for palliatives, and to devise means to lessen or to divide the odium of so disagreeable a measure. He gave out, that the number of Senators was become too great, and thus provided himself with an

* Præfectus Morum.

excuse for excluding a number, without stating any personal objection. He at first proposed to take upon himself only the nomination of thirty members, and under a solemn oath, that he should name the most worthy. These thirty were directed, each, under a like solemn oath, to give in a list of five, which would have made up the number to one hundred and fifty. And these, if they had been agreeable to the Emperor, would have probably made the first part of the roll. But as he was in many instances disappointed and displeased with the choice that was made, he selected only thirty of the whole, to whom he gave the same directions as before, each to name five; but being equally dissatisfied with this new nomination, he took the whole on himself; and alleging, that the officer who collected the names had made some mistakes, and that many, who were thus proposed to be members of the Senate, had necessary avocations in the provinces, he undertook, by his own authority, to reform the list. This task, however, he performed under so much apprehension of danger, that, as in the former instance of the same kind, he carried armour under his clothes, and had a guard of ten chosen Senators, with concealed weapons, who had orders not to admit above one person at a time to approach him *. By his conduct in this matter, or by the severity of his censures, he was supposed to have made so many enemies, or he himself at least took such impressions of jealousy and distrust, as kept him in alarm, and occasioned some trials and executions, by which he proposed to coun-

* Dio. Cass. Lib. LV. c. 14, 11 15

teract or prevent the designs which were supposed to be forming against his life *.

Upon observing how much the Emperor was alarmed, it was moved in the Senate, as an acknowledgment of the danger to which he was exposed, that the members should take arms, and in certain numbers, by turns, pass the night in his house. "I am "unfortunately addicted to snore," said Antistius Lobeo, who still possessed some remains of the republican spirit, "and am afraid, that I should be an "unwelcome guest in the antichamber of a prince†."

U. C. 735. P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Aug. 10mo, ætat. 44.

The period for which Augustus had accepted the command of the armies, and taken charge of part of the provinces, being about to expire, he repeated the form of his resignation, and was prevailed upon to resume his trust, though but for a term of five years longer. Agrippa, being now the son-in-law of the Emperor, and the first in his favour, as well as his nearest relation, was joined with him for the same term of five years, in the character of Tribune of the People.

During the preceding period of the new establishment, Augustus had affected to limit the exercise of his power to the military department, or to the provinces specially committed to his charge; whilst, in the city, or in civil affairs, he acted in the name of the Senate, or under the veil of some temporary office of magistracy. But for the term upon which he was now entering, he seemed to have thought him-

* Sueton. in August. c. 27. † Dio. Cass. lib. lv.

self safe in assuming a more direct executive power. He accordingly accepted from the Senate an appointment of perpetual extraordinary Consul, to be preceded on all public occasions by twelve Lictors, and in the Senate to have a chair of state placed between the ordinary Consuls of the year. He likewise received unlimited authority to enact laws, to the observance of which the Senate offered to bind themselves by oath. And although, in this, he took occasion to give a new proof of his moderation, by preventing the oath to be administered; he nevertheless proceeded from henceforward in the exercise of his imperial prerogative, with fewer disguises than he had formerly assumed.

The powers hitherto exercised under the title of some ordinary magistracy, were now committed to officers, acting by the appointment of Cæsar, and by his sole authority. Among these may be numbered, the inspection of the public works; of the highways; the navigation of the river; the markets *; the public granaries; the preservation of the peace, or government of the city committed to a military Præfect or Governor. Some new institutions were also made, to remedy evils of a recent date.

From the time of the civil wars, Italy had remained subject to many disorders. The inhabitants, alleging the dangers to which they had been exposed in their persons and properties, continued to form into bands, and taking arms, under pretence of defending themselves, employed those arms for lawless

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 17.

purposes; robbed, murdered, or, by force, confined to labour in their workhouses many innocent passengers, whether freemen or slaves, whom they thought proper to question or violate, under the appellation of disorderly persons. To remedy this evil, guards were posted at proper intervals, and a species of military patrole established throughout the country, with orders to protect travellers, to inspect the workhouses or receptacles of labouring slaves, and to suppress all associations, besides those of the ancient corporations *.

By the same authority, Augustus revived some obsolete laws, and gave instructions to put them in force: such as the laws limiting expence, restraining adultery, lewdness, and bribery, together with the laws which had been provided to promote marriage, or discourage celibacy. The limitation of expence may have had its propriety under a republic, where it is an object of state not to suffer the citizen, by his manner of living, or by his affectation of magnificence, either to ruin himself, or to aim at distinction above his equals; but the object of the sumptuary laws, now enforced, is not specially mentioned. It was probably the same with that of the laws revived by Julius Cæsar, and consequently the same with that of the laws formerly obtained, under the republic, by the Tribune Licinius, and chiefly respecting the consumption of meat.

In limiting the excess of the table, Augustus was himself a striking example of sobriety, being extreme-

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 32.

ly moderate and abstemious in the use of wine and of food *; and with respect to the other objects of his severity, although he himself was not equally free from imputation, he probably already experienced the necessity of certain restraints in his own family, and very properly thought it became him, in the character of magistrate, every where to watch over the purity of domestic manners. His zeal to recommend marriage, and to promote the settlement of families, probably suggested the same measures †.

The Romans, by means of the Census, or periodical muster, obtained a more regular account of their own numbers than any other nation, and they were exceedingly watchful of their population, even when they had least cause to apprehend its decline. They made laws accordingly to encourage matrimony, when the advantages enjoyed by a Roman citizen, as father of a family, were of themselves a sufficient encouragement. Augustus being to revive those laws, produced and read in the Senate a speech formerly mentioned, and at this time still extant, which had been delivered by Metellus Numidicus on this subject, about a hundred years before the present date.

Even so far back, under the republic, the relaxa-

* In his ordinary diet, when he wanted nourishment, he ate a little bread, with some dried fruit, without observing any stated time for his meals. He ordered his table indeed to be regularly served; but he himself joined the company irregularly, often [illegible] they were set, and frequently left them before they were done; and insisted that he should not be disturbed in this freedom by any ceremony of waiting for him, or by any troublesome attentions whatever. Sueton. in Octav. c. 72, 73, 76, 77.

† Sueton. in Octav. c. 69.

tion of domestic austerity may have begun to be felt. Licentiousness and want of economy may have already broke into the establishment of Roman families; disorders happening in the state of matrimony, may have deterred the single from embracing it. But if the effect of such circumstances then began to appear, in depopulation, how much more may we suppose that the destructive civil wars, which followed; the shock that was given to property by the removal of the ancient inhabitants of Italy, to make way for strangers and soldiers of fortune, must have operated to reduce the numbers of the people? These troubles, ending in military government; the uncertainty of every man's condition, depending on the will of a master; fear, melancholy, and dejection, felt amidst the ruins of a fallen republic, may have completed the accumulation of evils which discouraged the rearing of children; and the effect, while as master he cherished the cause, may have suggested to Augustus the necessity of reviving the ancient laws of the republic to enforce population; insomuch, that the extension and application of those laws became a principal object of his reign.

Suetonius, as usual in his manner, without regard to dates, brings into one view many particulars of this Emperor's policy relating to this subject. Among these, it is mentioned, that he augmented the rewards of marriage, and the penalties on celibacy *:—That he sometimes brought forward the children of his own family, into the place of public assembly, and

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 16.

exhorted his audience to profit by the example; but that his zeal in this matter was far from being acceptable to the People: That he was frequently accosted in the theatres and places of public resort with general cries of dislike;—had representations from respectable citizens, that it was impossible to support the extravagance at which women of rank were now arrived, and that he was obliged to correct many of the edicts he had published, or to abate much of their rigour;—that, in order to obviate the objections which were made to women of high condition, he permitted the nobles to marry emancipated slaves *;—that the law, nevertheless, was still eluded;—that pretended marriages were contracted with children, or females under age, and the completion of course indefinitely deferred †;—that, to prevent such evasions or frauds, it was enacted, that no marriage could be legally contracted with any female under ten years of age, nor the completion of any marriage be delayed above two years after the date of the supposed contract ‡.

As it was proposed to force the multiplication of marriages, so it appeared likewise of consequence to render the dissolution of those already formed more difficult, and to lay separation and divorce under proportional restraints ‖. Under this wretched succedaneum for good policy, it seemed to be forgotten, that where mankind are happy, and children are born to bless and to be blessed, nature has provided sufficient inducements to marriage: But that, where the peo-

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 16. † Suetou. in Octav. c. 71.
‡ Ibid. ‖ Ibid.

ple are debased, marriage itself, and the pains which are employed to enforce it, are an additional evil; and that a sovereign, whose arrival at power has made a state, into which mankind are powerfully led, by the most irresistible calls of affection, passion, and desire, a kind of workhouse, into which they must be driven by the goad and the whip, or a prison in which they must be detained under bars and fetters of iron, is justly an object of execration to his people*: and the Romans accordingly seemed to feel themselves, on the present occasion, treated as the property of a master, who required them to multiply, merely to increase the number of his slaves; and they resisted this part of the Emperor's administration, more than any other circumstance of the state of degradation into which they were fallen.

U. C. 736. C. Furnius, C. Julius Silanus. Aug. Ilmo, ætat. 45.

Augustus, in the second period of his reign, while he extended the exercise of his power, still endeavoured to disguise it under some forms or regulations of the ancient constitution. For this purpose, he revived the laws against bribery, those against taking fees for the pleading of causes, and the laws that were made to enforce the attendance of Senators. In these particulars, we cannot imagine that he so far mistook the situation into which he had brought the people, as to revive laws against bribery, after there ceased to be any free elec-

* In this, it is the cause, not the effect, that we reprobate. If a people were reduced to a state in which it might be found necessary to enforce, by penal laws, the use of salutary food, for the preservation of life, no plainer evidence, surely, could be given of a cruel and tyrannical government.

tion; the laws against accepting of fees* for pleading of causes, after all the motives which formerly induced Senators to lend their gratuitous protection to parties at law had ceased to exist †; the law imposing a fine upon members of the Senate coming too late to their places, after the proceedings of the Senate were no more than a form, in which the Emperor promulgated his own decrees ‡. In these instances, then, we must suppose that Augustus, in the usual strain of his policy, affected to revive the laws of the republic, in order to make it pass in the minds of the people, that the republic itself was still in existence. But notwithstanding his attention, by these and other arts, to conceal the extent of his usurpation, he could not escape the penetration of his subjects, nor even the animadversion of buffoons, to whom some degrees of freedom or of petulance are permitted, after genuine liberty is withheld from every one else. Having banished a player of the name of Pylades, for a difference with another player of the name of Bathyllus, he afterwards, to please the audience, recalled Pylades; and giving him some admonition to be upon his good behaviour for the future: *That is a jest*, said the actor, *for the more that the People are occupied with our quarrels, the better for you* §.

The Emperor still residing at Rome, during two

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* Lex Cincia. The offender was subjected to a fine, equal to double the fee he had accepted.

† Under the republic, the character of an able pleader led to the highest preferments and honours of the State; and this was the fee by which he was retained for his clients.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 18. § Ibid. c. 17

years after the commencement of the second period of his reign, continued, or began to carry on, many works for the ornament, magnificence, or convenience of the city. To defray the expence of such works, he laid persons, who had obtained a triumph, or any military honour, under a contribution for some part of their spoils; and by these means, perhaps, made some officers pay for their own vanity more than they had been able to force from the enemy. He was supposed to be lavish of military honours, as well as political distinctions, which in reality began to lose their value, or to change their nature, being now mere badges of court favour, not, as formerly, the evidence or record of signal services rendered to the State, and supported by the testimony of victorious armies, or the voice of the People. It may be observed, as an evidence of decline in the estimation of military honours, that, for some advantage gained over the Garamantes*, an obscure nation on the frontier of the Roman province in Africa, a triumph was bestowed on one Balbus, a native of Gades in Spain, and but newly admitted a citizen of Rome; while such honours were declined by Agrippa, to whom they were due for his eminent services, but who considered them as matter of empty pageantry, which would give an air of vulgarity to the honours he already enjoyed †.

About this time Augustus received an accession to his family by the birth of another grandson, of the name of Lucius, the second son of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia. In adopt-

U. C. 750. August. 11mo, ætat. 45.

* Plin. lib. v, c. 5. † Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 11.

ing both the brothers, Caius and Lucius, with the addition of the name of Cæsar, he made known the destination of his fortunes in their favours.

In the midst of festivals, which were instituted on this occasion, the attention of the Emperor was called anew to the provinces, by alarms which were received at once in many parts of the empire.

U. C. 737. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius Scipio. August. 12mo, ætat. 46.

Historians give us a list of particulars, exhibiting the troubles to which so extensive a territory was still exposed. The Commenii and Venones, nations inhabiting certain valleys of the Alps, were in arms. The Panonii and Norisci had attacked Istria. The Danthæleti and Scordisci had invaded Macedonia. The Sauromatæ had passed the Danube. Some cantons, both of Dalmatia and Spain, had revolted. The Sicambri, Usupetes, and Tenchteri, German nations bordering on the Rhine, having seized on the Italian traders who frequented their country, in imitation of the Roman manner of punishing slaves, nailed them to the cross, and employing this insult as a declaration of war, passed the Rhine, and made a descent upon Gaul. They surprised and put to flight a party of horse, which had been sent by Lollius to observe their motions. In pursuit of this advantage, they fell in with the main body, commanded by Lollius himself, equally unprepared to receive them, obliged him to retire with great loss, and with the disgrace of leaving the standard of one of the legions in the hands of his enemies *.

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 20. Vell. Pater. lib. 20, c. 97.

These revolts of the frontier provinces, or incursions of barbarous neighbours, may be considered as the commencement, however remote, of a war which lasted for ages, and terminated at last in the ruin of the declining empire. The defeat of Lollius was indeed the first signal calamity which had befallen the Roman arms under the auspices of the present Emperor *. It was supposed to have greatly affected him, and to have caused the resolution which he now took, to pass the Alps, and to superintend, in person, the measures which were necessary to repair this loss. His departure from Rome, however, at this time, is likewise ascribed to other motives. He had now, for about two years, been exposed in the city to the animadversion and censure which a people, still petulant, though not free, were ready, on so near a view, to bestow on his person and government; and it was part of his policy to withdraw, at proper intervals, from the observation of such a people, in order to preserve that respect and authority which too much familiarity is apt to impair. He accordingly took occasion from these alarms, on the west and northern frontier, to absent himself from the city; and dispatched Agrippa, at the same time, into Asia, where a contest, which had arisen respecting the succession to the kingdom of Bosphorus, required his presence.

The Emperor, leaving the administration of affairs at Rome in the hands of Statilius Taurus, set out for Gaul, accompanied by Mæcenas, and his own stepson

* Suet. in Octav. c. 33.

Tiberius, now in the rank of Prætor, who made a part of his court. At his arrival in Gaul, the people were relieved of the alarm they had taken on the approach of the German invaders, who, not being prepared to maintain a permanent struggle beyond their own boundaries, had repassed the Rhine. He proceeded, therefore, to receive the representations which were made to him relating to the administration of the province. Among these are mentioned complaints of extortion on the part of the governor. This officer, though now bearing a Roman name, that of Licinius, was himself a native of Gaul, and had been a slave in the family of Julius Cæsar. Having become, by the bounty of his master, a freeman and a Roman citizen, he was afterwards gradually raised, by Augustus himself, to the height of his present command, in which he committed enormous oppressions. Being convicted of the crimes which were laid to his charge, it is said, that the money of which he had robbed the province was seized, but not returned to the owners *.

U. C. 738. M. Livius Drusus, L. Calpurnius Piso. August. 13tio, ætat. 47.

While the Germans retired from Gaul upon the report of the Emperor's approach, the revolts of the Commenii and Venones, of the Panonii and Ligures Commati, were quelled at the same time by the different officers who had been employed against them. The Rhæti and Vendelici, nations inhabiting the valley of Trent, having been long in the practice of plundering the Roman traders, of making incursions

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 21.

into Gaul, and even into Italy, were attacked first by Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, and being forced from their own country, moved in a hostile manner into the Roman province, where they were received by Tiberius, at the head of a considerable army; and being pressed at once by both the brothers, were obliged to make their submission, and to suffer the greater part of their men, of an age to carry arms, to be transplanted into other countries *.

The peace being thus re-established on the side of Germany, the Emperor applied himself to restore some cities which had gone to ruin in different parts of the empire, and to plant new colonies in Gaul and in Spain. Whether these were settlements provided for the veterans and Emeriti, by dispossessing the ancient inhabitants, or new plantations made in waste and unappropriated lands, is uncertain. Suetonius informs us, that no less than twenty-eight different colonies were settled in Italy, towns built, and funds allotted to defray the expence of these newly established communities; and that persons who had filled any office of magistracy in these colonies were entitled to a vote in the elections at Rome.

Among the acts of Augustus, during his progress in Gaul, are mentioned the effects of his attention to the favourite object of encouraging population, and the premiums he gave, wherever he passed, to such persons as presented him with numerous fami-

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* "Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
"Drusum gerentem et Vindelici," &c. &c.
Hor. Carm. lib. iv, Od. 1. Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 22. Vel. Pater. lib. ii, c. 97.

lies of children *. It is mentioned, that the city of Paphos being destroyed by an earthquake, he gave orders to have it rebuilt; and, as an earnest of his future patronage, gave the inhabitants leave to change the name to Augusta †: that he restored to the people of Cyzicum in Bithynia, the privileges of which he himself had formerly deprived them: that his orders, to re-establish the king of Pontus in possession of the Bosphorus, which had been usurped by a pretended descendant of Mithridates, being successfully executed by Agrippa, the Emperor received the report of this service, without having it communicated to the Senate. And this is said to have been the first instance, in which the form of communicating the reports of public service to the Senate was omitted.

U. C. 739. M. Licinius, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. August. 14to, ætat. 48.

A triumph having been offered to Agrippa, on this occasion, was again declined ‡.

Augustus had now passed above two years in Gaul, and obtained the end for which he went, whether of a temporary recess from Rome, or of making the necessary provision for the security of the province. Leaving Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, to command on the Rhine, and to continue the military services he had lately begun among the Alps, he himself set out on his journey to Italy. But, willing to avoid the crowds which usually advanced

U. C. 740. Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quincelius Varus. August. 15to, ætat. 49.

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* Sueton. in Octav. c. 46.

† Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 25. ‡ Ibid.

to receive him on his approach to the city, he made his entry in the night. The Senate, however, not to lose any opportunity of paying their court, ordered to be erected, in the usual place of their assembly, an altar, on which to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving for his safe return; and, to signalize the occasion by some circumstance of a gracious nature, resolved, that, from this date, whatever criminal within the city presented his prayer for forgiveness to the Emperor in person, should obtain his pardon. Both these flattering decrees, presented to him on the day of his arrival, he rejected. On the following day, he received the salutations of the People on the Palatine Hill*; ordered the baths to be thrown open to them, and the usual attendance at such places to be given at his own expence. From this ceremony, he proceeded to the Capitol, and going up to the statue of Jupiter, stripped the laurel from his fasces, and laid this badge of victory on the pedestal which supported an image of the god. He then assembled the Senate; but excusing himself from speaking, on account of a hoarseness, he delivered a paper to be read by his Quæstor, containing a summary of his late operations in the provinces, and some new regulations, by which the army, for the future, were to be governed †.

This Emperor had gradually, since his accession to the government, endeavoured to improve the discipline of the legions, and particularly to restore the

* The place of his own residence.

† Dio Cass. lib. liv, c. 25.

dignity of the military character, by forbidding the admission of slaves. From this rule he never departed, except either upon extraordinary occasions, which required sudden augmentations of the army, or in recruiting particular bodies of men, such as the city-watch, appointed to guard against fire and other disorders. And he succeeded so far in restoring the discipline which had been much relaxed in times of the civil war, that he had authority enough, on different occasions, to dismiss, without any provision or reward, all such as presumed to make any demands in a mutinous manner. He had entirely disbanded the tenth legion for mutiny. In urging the duties of the service, he generally decimated such bodies of men as gave way before an enemy, and punished with death the desertion of a post, whether in officers or private men. Less offences he stigmatized with some species of ignominy or disgrace, as, by obliging the offender to stand a whole day unarmed before the general's tent, with some mark or badge of disgrace *.

By the regulations now presented to the Senate for their approbation, the term of military service was fixed, if in the Prætorian bands, at twelve years; if in the legions, at sixteen years. After this term, it was admitted that a soldier might claim his discharge.

It had been a practice, in the course of the late civil wars, to gratify the veterans, at their dismission, with grants of land; a practice which taught the armies to covet the possessions of their fellow-citizens, and to seek for pretences against them,

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 25.

which, in reality, rendered the property of land insecure. But Augustus now thought himself possessed of a sufficient authority to reform this abuse, and to substitute, for such grants as the veterans had formerly received, a gratuity in money *. By publishing his regulation on this subject, he greatly quieted the fears and apprehensions under which the pacific inhabitants laboured in different parts of the empire.

The utmost efforts of the Emperor were likewise required, on the present occasion, to preserve the mask under which he wished to conduct his government. The Senate, though maintained in all its formalities, was observed to have no power, and began to be deserted. The civil offices were shunned as a burden, or as a conspicuous servitude. Many families of Senators were gone to decay, and those who were called in to supply their places, either had not, or denied that they had the legal qualification. The titles of magistracy continued for some time to be coveted, on account of the rank they were supposed to bestow; but the frequency and prostitution of such honours now rendered them contemptible †; and, in some degree, already an object of that ridicule which is so well expressed by the Satirist in writings of a later date ‡.

To relieve Senators, in part, of the burdens which

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* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 25. † Ibid. lib. liv, c. 30.

‡ Perpetuo risu, pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quanquam non essent urbibus illis,
Prætextæ, et Trabeæ, Fasces, Lectica, Tribunal.——
Juven. Sat. x, v. 37.

they alone were hitherto appointed to bear, the Emperor, while yet in Gaul, gave directions that the ten judges, who decided in all questions relating to public sales and confiscations, the three inspectors of the coin *; the officers who had charge of public executions †, and the wardens of the streets and highways ‡, should all, for the future, be taken from the Equestrian order. It was now the practice to decline, not only servile or burdensome offices of this sort, but likewise what had been the highest stations under the republic; and it became necessary to force the acceptance of them under actual penalties. At first, all who had been Quæstors, if still under forty years of age, were draughted by lot for the superior stations ‖; all likewise who had been Quæstors, and who were possessed of the legal estate, if not above thirty years of age, were obliged to enrol in the Senate.

From this forced enrolment or promotion, however, which may be considered as a general press for Senators and Officers of State, were excluded all such as had any bodily deformity or blemish, or who wanted the legal estate. In ascertaining the fortunes of Senators, the parties themselves were examined, and other evidence was brought to investigate the truth. Such as appeared to have made any diminution in their paternal inheritance, were obliged to specify the losses they had sustained, and to give an account of their own manner of life §.

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* Triumviri Monitales. † Triumviri Capitales.
‡ Viginti Viri. ‖ Dio. Cass. lib. liv. c. 26. § Ibid.

In the sequel of these measures, which were intended to preserve the appearance of a commonwealth, and to support the formalities of a civil institution, it is probable, although not mentioned by any of the historians, that Augustus accepted of a prolongation of his power for other five years *; and again assumed Agrippa with himself into the office of Tribune for the same term. The ceremony of this resignation became, by degrees, a matter of form, and his resumption of the empire was made known by sports and entertainments, which rendered the occasion extremely agreeable to the People.

At this time a theatre, which had been begun by Marcellus, was finished, and opened with great solemnity. A procession of noble youth was led by Caius, the son of Agrippa, and adoptive son of the Emperor. Six hundred African wild beasts were baited in the Circus, and among them a tyger, it being the first time that this animal made its appearance at Rome †.

In continuance of these entertainments, Iulus, the son of Antony by Octavia, being Prætor, celebrated the birth-day of Augustus with the most expensive shows; and in his public character, entertained the Senate, together with the Emperor himself, at a feast in the Capitol ‡.

* His having accepted the empire for ten years, and, at the expiration of this period, his having accepted of it for five years, are mentioned; and again, it is mentioned, about his twentieth year, or five years after this date, that he accepted of it for ten years more. The intermediate ceremony, therefore, though not mentioned, cannot be doubted.

† Plin. lib. viii, c. 17.

‡ Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 25, 26.

Tiberius, at the same time, in performance of a vow which he had made for the Emperor's safe return from his last excursion to the provinces, gave splendid entertainments. The giver of the feast having introduced Caius Cæsar, the eldest of the Emperor's adoptive sons, and placed him by himself on the Prætor's bench at the theatre, the young man was received by the People with shouts of applause.

The Emperor, however, gave signs of displeasure. "Such premature honours," he said, "could only "serve to inspire the mind of a young man with pre-"sumption and pride *."

About this time, after having long survived any public notice, died the famous Triumvir M. Æmilius Lepidus, formerly the associate of the tool of Octavius and Antony, in the execution of their designs against the republic. While he was subservient to the interest of these adventurers, he was allowed, in appearance, to hold a third part of the empire; but being unsupported by any real abilities or personal authority, he ceased to be of any consequence the moment he presumed to act for himself, and was too inconsiderable, even to be an object of resentment to those he had injured.

U. C. 740. August. 15to, ætat. 49.

Augustus had suffered this fallen rival to remain, during life, in the dignity of Pontiff, and by keeping him in public view, deprived him of the consolation even of being forgotten †. The Emperor, though himself desirous to hold this sacred character, and frequently pressed, by his flatterers, to supplant Le-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 27. † Ibid. c. 17.

pidus, was too cautious to violate any supposed religious institution, and too politic to trifle with acknowledged rights, of which he meant, on occasion, to avail himself. But upon the death of Lepidus, he did not neglect to assume the only dignity which was wanting to complete the accumulation of prerogatives united in his own person.

Agrippa had returned to Rome about the same time with the Emperor; but soon had occasion again to depart from Italy, being sent to quell a rebellion which broke out in Panonia. Upon his arrival in this country, finding the natives already subdued by the fear of his approach, he accepted of their submission; and though still in the depth of winter, set out on his return to Rome. After he had repassed the seas, on his way through Campania, he was taken dangerously ill. Augustus received the accounts of his danger while he was exhibiting sports to the People in the name of his two sons, Caius and Lucius, and left the city immediately to attend his friend; but came too late, and after he expired.

U. C. 741. M. Valerius Barbatus, P. Sulpicius, Omilian in mag. mort: C. Vagius abdicavit: C. Caninius: August. 16to, ætat. 50.

This great man appears to have been worthy of the best times of the republic. He had magnanimity enough to have relied on his personal qualities alone for consideration and honour, and was fit to have been a citizen of Rome in its happiest age; but, from the exigency of the times, and upon the principle of fidelity to the friend who trusted him, he became a principal support of the monarchy. His great abilities being employed to maintain the government and

authority of the Prince, and his credit with the Prince employed in acts of justice and moderation to the People, he was neither an object of jealousy to the one, nor of envy to the other.

It was a singular instance of good fortune to have found such an officer, and a mark of understanding and steadiness to have persevered, without jealousy, and without wavering, in the choice. In this, and in some other instances, Augustus showed that his talent for management, which has been often remarked, was not mere craft, or low cunning, but a principle of able conduct, which is tried in nothing more than in the choice and employment of proper men. He raised Agrippa, though not a flatterer, from a low condition, to command his forces, to preside in his councils, and, last of all, by the marriage of his daughter, to the highest place next to his own in the empire.

At the funeral of his friend, the Emperor took upon himself the office of principal mourner, accompanied the procession from Campania to Rome; and the corpse being brought into the Forum, he pronounced a funeral oration, having, while he spoke, a screen placed between himself and the dead body. In order to confirm and to increase the regard that was paid to the memory of the deceased, he not only ratified that part of the will, by which Agrippa bequeathed his gardens and his baths to the public, but in his name also made further additions to the legacy.

Julia, at the death of her husband, was again preg-

nant, and bore a third son, who, from the family of his father, and the circumstances of his birth, was known by the name of Agrippa Posthumus *.

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 28, 29.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Marriage of Julia with Tiberius.—Death of Drusus.—Death of Mæcenas.—Disgrace of Julia.—War in Panonia.—Roman legions cut off in Germany.—Tiberius associated in the empire.—Death of Augustus.

THE death of Agrippa made way for Tiberius Clau-
U. C. 721. dius Nero, then about twenty-eight years
August. 16to, ætat. 50. of age, into a higher place than he yet held in the family and confidence of the Emperor.

Octavius had received this young man in the arms of his mother Livia, had observed the progress of his childhood and youth, and had given him no distinguished place in his favour during the lives of Marcellus or Agrippa, to whom he had successively married his daughter: but being deprived of both these supports, and his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, being yet of tender age, he was led to receive Tiberius as a relation, the nearest to supply the place of those he had lost.

Livia, by whose arts the Emperor now began to be governed, was, according to the report of historians, and, as we may infer from her own conduct, perfectly formed to the mind of her husband. In all matters, not only of business, whether private or public, but even the particulars in which the sexes are least

patient of each other's failings, she preserved or affected the most implicit submission to his will. She is said, not only to have connived at his infidelities, but as often as he was inclined to diversify his pleasures, even to have employed her sagacity and her knowledge of his choice in procuring him the means of indulging his fancy. Herself, not the dupe of any passion which was likely to mislead her, she neither lost an opportunity to advance her family, nor risked the miscarriage of her purpose, by hastening improperly the means of obtaining it. Favoured by the death of Agrippa, and the minority of the young Cæsars, she easily, without seeming to entertain any improper views for her son, procured his advancement. He was at first received by the Emperor as a temporary aid in the government, and afterwards as a person fit to become the third husband of Julia; and by this connection to occupy a rank in his family, which had been hitherto considered as the nearest to his own.

Tiberius, at the time when this resolution was taken in his favour, was already a husband and a father, having for wife Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, by a former marriage, and by whom he had a son named Drusus. He is said to have parted, with great reluctance, from Vipsania, then a second time pregnant, in order to make way for Julia, by whom he was to hold the second place in the empire.

Augustus had hitherto distinguished, by the marriage of his daughter, the person whom he meant to point out as his successor; but, his family being now

become numerous, it does not appear that he had any thoughts of giving to this new son-in-law precedence of his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, who, bearing the name of Cæsar, already precluded any competition for rank in the order of succession*. This third marriage of Julia, he probably intended for a purpose, which it did not by any means serve, that of restraining the disorders to which this unhappy person was inclined.

Tiberius had begun his military services with some distinction in Gaul, and now being selected to replace Agrippa, was sent to repress a rebellion, which, upon the report of that officer's death, had again broke out in Panonia. Having succeeded in this service, he gave orders, that the youth of the vanquished nation should be sold into slavery, and that the buyer should come under an obligation to transport them far from their native country; a cruel action, but not to be imputed merely to the personal character of this young man, as it did not exceed what was frequent in the history of the Romans. Upon this occasion Tiberius had the honour of a triumph conferred by the Senate; but by the Emperor's directions, while he accepted of the triumphal robes, he declined to enter the city in procession†.

About the same time Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, then stationed on the Rhine, had repulsed a body of Germans invading his province, had passed the river in pursuit of them, and laid waste the contiguous country of the Sicambri and Usupe-

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 31. † Ibid.

tes, which, lying between the Lippe and the Issel, now forms the bishopric of Munster, or the province of Zutphen. Having embarked his army, he fell down the Issel to the marshy lands inhabited by the Frisii and Chauci, probably what are now the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, arrived without resistance at the ocean, where the tides, to which his Italian mariners were unaccustomed, leaving them sometimes ashore, and almost out of sight of the sea, at other times threatening to overflow all the lands in their view, gave them at first considerable trouble; but having learned to accommodate themselves to this alternate flux and reflux of the waters, they took the benefit of the floods to re-ascend the river, and returned to their station on the frontiers of Gaul.

Drusus, having thus explored the coasts of the northern ocean, set out for Italy; and, though already vested with the dignity of Prætor, was made to accept of an inferior rank in the office of Edile; probably to set an example, encouraging others to comply with the forms of the republic, which the Emperor still endeavoured to preserve, but which were at this time very much neglected by persons of rank *.

As the Roman armies had now, for some time, ceased to make offensive war, many of the barbarous nations took courage from this circumstance, and began to harass the provinces in their neighbourhood, passed the Rhine and the Danube in frequent incursions, and laid waste the frontiers of Gaul, Panonia

* Dio. Cass. lib. liv, c. 32.

and Thrace; insomuch, that it appeared necessary, for the security of these provinces, to attack the enemy, and to furnish them sufficient occupation in the defence of their own country.

U. C. 724. C. Ælius Tubero, Paulus Trebius Max. August. 17mo, ætat. 51.

In the spring of the following year, Drusus accordingly having returned to his command in the province of Gaul, passed the Rhine, overran the territory of the Chatti *, and penetrated to the Weser. In these operations, although the Emperor's object, on this and every other service, was merely defensive, it appeared necessary, not only to occupy both banks of the Rhine; but likewise to have fortified stations on the Lippe, from which to observe the Germans in their future preparations to pass the frontier, for the purpose of invading the Romans.

Drusus, for his services in this campaign, was saluted by the army, as had been customary in the times of the republic, with the title of Imperator; but this designation having been, for some time, appropriated to the sovereign, as head, not only of the armies, but of the empire itself, was now, by his order, withheld from Drusus. The title of Proconsul, with the triumphal robes, were decreed to him instead of the other. On his return to Gaul, the Germans laid an ambuscade on the route by which he was to pass, and threatened his army with imminent danger; but lost the advantage of the disposition they had made, by discovering their posture too soon, and by giving the Romans an opportunity to extricate them-

* Supposed to be that of Hesse.

selves by a vigorous attack, in which they gained a decisive victory.

Upon the news of this event, which seemed to remove, for some time, the prospect of any further trouble on the side of Germany, it was proposed, once more, to shut the gates of Janus *. But an irruption of the Daci, who had passed the Danube on the ice, together with inroads made by the Thracians into Macedonia, and fresh insurrections in Dalmatia, still kept the empire in a state of war.

Lucius Piso, formerly governor of Pamphilia, was employed in repressing the attempts of the Thracians; and Tiberius in reducing the Dalmatians †. The last of these territories, which, in the general partition of the empire, had been committed to the Senate, was now, on account of its frequent revolts, taken under the immediate inspection of Cæsar.

While these operations took place, under the officers whom the Emperor employed in the provinces, he himself remained at Rome; and the few circumstances which are mentioned, relating to affairs of State in the capital, though characteristic of the times, are not otherwise interesting or important.

The Emperor himself, in his capacity of Inspector of Manners, took an account of the People, paying the highest regard to the distinctions of Senator and Knight, and to the honours which were constituted by titles of office, as those of Prætor and Consul. But these names of distinction, which he affected to preserve, having no real consideration or power an-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 34. † Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 98

nexed to them, only served to remind the People of dignities which no longer existed.

The Senate itself, though filled with persons who bore the titles of Prætorian and Consular, and though, with affected respect, still preserved among the ruins of the commonwealth, being deprived of its ancient foundations, underwent a continual decay: and the honours to which citizens had formerly aspired, with so much ardour, were now neglected, or shunned with disdain. The wealthy, fearing more the burdens to which they might be exposed, on the supposition of possessing great riches, than coveting the honours to which the qualification of Senator entitled them, came to the musters with reluctance, and even concealed their effects.

To counteract this disposition, and to set an example of public duty, the Emperor made a fair return of his own patrimonial estate, and, as far as was consistent with his sovereignty, endeavoured to raise the value of subordinate ranks, admitted members into the Senate with lower qualifications than formerly; diminished the *quorum*, or number that was hitherto required to constitute a legal assembly; and, affecting great respect for the proceedings of the Senate, ordered their journals to be regularly kept; a matter which he gave in particular charge to the Quæstors.

In other respects, the servility of the times seemed to outrun the exactions of the sovereign. Some of the courtiers, in their desire to flatter, and others, under the fear of being suspected of disaffection, began the practice of contributing sums of money to erect statues to the Emperor; and he himself, in conse-

quence of some dream, or directed by some species of superstition, made it a practice, on certain days of the year, to ask, as in charity, from all who came in his way, some small pieces of money *. As he was in his temper sufficiently liberal, neither of these practices brought him under any imputation of rapacity. What was contributed to erect statues for himself, he employed in multiplying those of the gods, particularly in erecting the allegorical images of Safety, Concord, and Peace. What he received as a charity, was returned twofold.

The republican honours, though much faded on every other brow, still bore a considerable lustre among the Emperor's titles, made a part of his dignity, and an engine of his government. Those of the priesthood, in particular, equally suited to every constitution of government, were easily brought in aid of his military power. For this reason the title of Flamen Dialis, or Priest of Jupiter, was now added to the other dignities of the same kind which the Emperor had recently assumed. It being deemed ominous, and presaging the greatest calamities, if a Flamen Dialis should die in office, this dignity formed an additional guard to the Emperor's person. It had been vacant about seventy years from the demise of Merula, who being Consul when Cinna forced his way into the city, and seeing no means of escape, in order to avert from his country the supposed evils which must have followed from his dying in the priesthood, divested himself, stripped the sacred crest

* Sueton. in vit. August. c. 91.

or fillet from his hair, and, being thus reduced to a private station, cut his own arteries, and sprinkled the altar of Jupiter with his blood.

This ceremony, it was supposed, had averted the evils to which, in expiation of the death of this sacred personage, the republic would have been otherwise exposed; and the priesthood had, from reverence to this illustrious martyr, been suffered to remain vacant till a person could be found that was worthy to succeed him; a condition which was now supposed to be fulfilled in the person of Augustus.

About this date died Octavia, the widow of Marcellus and of Mark Antony. Her obsequies being performed with great pomp, the Emperor himself pronounced the funeral oration, having a screen, as at the burial of Agrippa, to hide the body from his view.

U. C. 743. Julius Antonius Africanus, Q. Fabius Maximus. Aug. 18vo, ætat. 52.

Soon after this event, although there was not any recent alarm from an enemy on the Rhine, the Emperor thought proper to remove the place of his residence from Italy to the north of the Alps. Under pretence of observing the storms which still threatened the province of Gaul from the barbarous nations on its frontier, he took his station at the confluence of the Soane and the Rhône, and from thence occasionally gave his instructions to the two brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, to whom the war was committed on the Save and the Rhine. Both having been successful in the services intrusted to them, at the end of the campaign joined the Emperor in his quarters, and from thence accompanied him to Rome,

where they partook in the honours which were paid to him for the success of his arms.

In the following spring, the two brothers resumed their commands, and the Emperor returned to his former residence on the Rhône. Drusus passed the Rhine, overran the country of the Chatti, and penetrated to the Elbe, where he erected some trophies, and left some monuments of the progress he had made; but on the approach of winter, being obliged to retire, he was taken ill on the march and died.

U. C. 741. Nero Claudius Drusus, Q. Fubius Maximus. Aug. 19no, ætat. 53.

Tiberius, who had been sent by the Emperor to attend his brother, on the first news of his illness, came in time to see him expire. The funeral being to be performed in Italy, the corpse, during the march of the army he had commanded back to the Rhine, was carried by officers of the highest rank. From the Rhine and through Gaul, it was conveyed on the shoulders of the principal inhabitants, who received it on the confines of their respective districts, and bore it from one to another. Augustus himself, on the occasion, repaired to Rome; but being then in a military character, or in the actual exercise of a military commission, and not permitted, by the ancient forms of the republic, to enter the city, he spoke a funeral oration in the Circus Flaminius, which was without the walls. Tiberius followed the corpse to the Forum, and delivered another oration there. Other parts of the obsequies were performed by persons of the Equestrian and Senatorian rank. The ashes were deposited in the tomb of Augustus.

The title of Germanicus having been conferred on Drusus, in the result of his wars on the Rhine, it remained in his family. He had issue two sons and a daughter; the eldest known by the name of Germanicus Cæsar, the younger by the name of Claudius, long neglected on account of his supposed imbecility, though destined in the sequel to mount the imperial throne: with these the daughter Livilla, hereafter to be mentioned as the wife of successive husbands

Tiberius, soon after the funeral of his brother, entered the city in procession, to celebrate the success of his arms in Dalmatia. He gave a public feast to the people; and as in this entertainment only one of the sexes could partake, Livia and Julia were allowed to entertain the other.

The influence of Livia, and the elevation of her family, notwithstanding the hopes that were entertained of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, were now apparent, and procured from the Senate some flattering decrees, which were addressed to her, in consolation for the loss of her son. Her statue, in particular, was erected at the public expence, and she herself was vested with the distinction or privilege, reckoned so highly honourable at Rome, that which was attached to the parent of three children *.

U. C. 745. C. Marcius Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus. Aug. 20mo, ætat. 54.

In the beginning of the following year, Augustus again entered the city in a kind of triumphal procession, carrying his laurel to the temple of Jupiter Ferretrius, instead of that of Jupiter Capitolinus. But he made no rejoicings, alleging, that he had suffered

* Dio. Cass lib. xxxv, c. 1.

more by the death of Drusus than he had gained by the success of his arms. The Consuls, however, took charge of the solemnities usual on such occasions, and, among the public shows, brought forth some captives whom they obliged, for the entertainment of the People, to fight in the theatre *.

The period for which Augustus, at his last pretended resignation, had consented to reaccept of the government, being expired, he affected a purpose, as formerly, to resign the empire; and was again prevailed upon to resume it for ten years more. The decline of the civil establishment, of which he still wished to preserve the appearances, occupied his principal attention. The Senate, as has been observed, underwent a continual degradation, and its assemblies were neglected. The members excused their neglect, by pretending, that the times of meeting being irregular, they had no proper intimation to attend; and that they were frequently engaged in trials at law, and other public affairs, when the Senate was called.

To obviate such excuses for the future, the Emperor appointed ordinary assemblies of the Senate on particular days of each month, and ordered that those days should be kept clear of trials, or any other public business whatever, that might occupy the members. Having formerly reduced the number that was required to constitute a legal meeting, from four hundred to three hundred, he now directed, that in matters of less moment, even fewer might constitute a

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 5.

quorum, and that in fixing the number on any particular occasion, regard should be had to the importance of the business before them; that even without requiring any specific attendance of members, the Senate might form resolutions, which, though not accompanied with the force of laws, should nevertheless be deemed of great authority. He, at the same time, ordered the rolls of the Senate to be laid open to public inspection; increased the fine usually paid for absence, and, to facilitate the ordinary course of their proceedings, extended to the Prætors the privilege of making motions, which had been hitherto confined to the Consuls, or to himself, as paramount to every magistrate whatever.

These resolutions, severally, before they passed into laws, were posted up in the Senate-house, where every person was invited to offer his observations and corrections *.

About the same time are dated other regulations ascribed to Augustus, of which some related to the manner of elections, and others to that of criminal trials. As to the first, although every office was filled by his own nomination, he affected to preserve the ancient forms; and, in order to give some appearance of reality to the right of election, which he affected to leave with the People, while he prescribed to them whom they should choose, he made rules, which were to be observed in receiving the suffrages, and in restraining corruption. Among these it is

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 34.

mentioned, that as soon as any candidate had declared himself, he was required to deposite a certain sum of money, to be forfeited, in case he were detected in procuring the vote of any person by corrupt means.

In respect to criminal trials, as the subject was more serious, the regulations now made by the Emperor were of more effect. In this matter, he wished to set aside the forms which obtained under the Republic, though by evasion, rather than by a direct repeal.

So long as the People were sovereigns of the commonwealth, it was part of the security which, in their collective capacity, they provided for themselves, as individuals amenable to the laws, *that no slave could be tortured to give evidence against his master.* As this law, in the present state of the government, might obstruct prosecutions which were instituted even for the Emperor's safety, it was thought necessary to find some expedient by which to elude its force. For this purpose, it was enacted, that such slaves as might be wanted in evidence against their masters, should be conveyed, by a formal process of sale, to the Emperor; and that, becoming his property, they might be put to the question, or cited as witnesses, even against their former masters.

This act is by Tacitus imputed to Tiberius, and, in either Emperor, was considered as a dreadful innovation *. But the consideration of the Emperor's safety was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for any deviation that was made from the forms of the republic.

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* Tacit. Annal.

In whatever degree the present Emperor employed, in defence of his own person, the severity of criminal prosecutions, and the dread of the executioner, he appears to have relied for his safety more on the disguises under which he concealed his usurpation, on the caution of his measures, and the popularity of his manners. By the respect he pretended for the Senate and officers of State, he held up the republican forms as a kind of shield, to protect him from zealots of the former order of things. He endeavoured to make the people overlook his invidious distinction, and frequently bore with familiarities from persons of the lowest condition. As an example of the temper with which he endured the saucy or petulant remains of military or republican freedom*, it is mentioned, that being called upon to act as counsel in behalf of a soldier who was to be tried on some criminal charge, and having, under pretence of another engagement, named a friend to undertake the cause: *This*, said the culprit, *is not a proper return to me. In your danger, I did not employ a substitute, but interposed myself.* He received, with seeming indifference, the reports of spies and informers. To a person of this denomination, who accused Æmilius Ælianus of having frequently traduced him; *Prove me this*, said he, *and I will show Ælianus, that I too in my turn can find faults in his character.* Tiberius having once written him a warm letter, with a complaint of the same kind, he bade him beware of the heats of youth. *It is enough*,

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 4.

he said, *that we can hinder people from doing us any harm* * ; *we may allow them to say what they please.* Yet in this he did not act from contempt of the public opinion; for in some instances he condescended even to answer accusations that were propagated against his private or public character †. In this manner, his conduct served to repress the passions of jealousy and resentment, which might have otherwise arisen against him, while the humble virtues of discretion and prudence, in many parts of his reign, by leading him to overlook offences, imitated the effects of generosity and elevation of mind, if his temper did not aspire to the real possession of these characters.

This wary statesman having passed the winter at Rome, returned in the spring to his former station in Gaul, accompanied by Caius, the elder of his adopted sons, whom he now proposed to introduce to the military service; and by Tiberius, who, notwithstanding the rise of a new light in the person of the young Cæsar, who threatened to obscure his lustre, continued, in appearance, to receive marks of the Emperor's favour, and was considered as a principal support of his government. Being placed at the head of the army on the Rhine, he had charge of the war which had lately been committed to Drusus, his younger brother. But few particulars are mentioned of the campaign which followed in that quarter. The commander is accused, in one instance, of having violated the public faith, by having seized as prison-

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* Sueton. in August. c. 56. † Ibid.

ers, and sent in chains to different parts of the Roman provinces, the deputies of some German nations, who came in a public capacity to treat of peace; and of having laid waste the country in the neighbourhood of his province.

The Germans, however, were probably rather incensed than dismayed by these measures. Their deputies, who had been made prisoners, that they might not be employed against their own nations, as hostages, put themselves to death: and their countrymen retained the most vehement purpose of revenge. But whatever may have been the result, it is mentioned, that Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and gave this title likewise to Tiberius; that he put him in nomination for Consul on the following year, and, at their return to Rome, permitted him to make his entry into the city in triumph, while he himself declined the honour.

Soon after the Emperor's arrival in Italy, he suffered a great loss by the death of Mæcenas. This event made a breach in the civil department of his affairs, not less than that which the death of Agrippa had made in the military. The predilection of this minister for learning, and the intimacy in which he lived with persons of the best and most elegant accomplishments, who were recommended to him merely by their merit, has made his name proverbial among those of the patrons of letters. His inclination in this matter, if it did not form the taste of his master, happily concurred with it, and brought him acquainted with those elegant productions of genius which occupy the affections, as well as the fancy, and

which, in a situation otherwise likely to instil pride, jealousy, and distrust of mankind, served at once as an antidote to these evils, and opened the way to better dispositions. Mæcenas had served his prince with great fidelity, and, if not insensible to personal ambition, was at least satisfied with the elevation he had gained in the confidence of his master. He retained the Equestrian rank, to which he was born, without endeavouring to accumulate the preferments or titles, which were so much an object of ambition in the earlier period of this reign, and so easy an acquisition in the latter part of it *. It is observed, however, that he experienced, as is common, some vicissitude in his master's temper, and outlived the high measure of favour which he enjoyed, but without any interruption of his duty. As he lived, when most in favour, without any public envy, so he escaped every public insult, when supposed in disgrace. While he presented the Emperor with a continual model of elegance, ingenuity, and good temper, he took the liberty to check his passions, and served him no less by the sincerity of his speech, than by the ability of his conduct. An instance of the freedom he took, is mentioned on occasion of a trial, in which Augustus himself, according to custom, sat in judgment on some criminals of State. Mæcenas observing him agitated with passion, and likely to pronounce some precipitant or cruel sentence, and being hindered by the crowd from reaching his ear, handed a billet to him, which contained no more than two

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iii, c. 30.

words, which may be translated into this homely expression; *Hangman, begone* * *!* The admonition, however, had its effect, and the Emperor adjourned the court.

The minister left his whole estate, as was the fashion of the age, to the Emperor's disposal †.

By these successive diminutions in the list of confidants, on whom Augustus relied for the administration of his government, the influence of Livia, and the fortunes of her son Tiberius, received a continual advancement. The latter, after he had resumed the military habit, in his quality of commander of the armies on the Rhine, being to enter on the office of Consul, was received by the Senate in the Curia Octavia, beyond the walls of the city. In his address to this assembly, he spoke of the public works which he proposed to erect. Among these, a Temple of Concord, to be inscribed with his own name, joined with that of his brother Drusus; and with this, another temple, to be dedicated by himself, in conjunction with his mother Livia. He gave, in her name, and in his own, upon this occasion, splendid entertainments to the Senate, and to persons of distinction of both sexes. Having become bound, by solemn promise, to exhibit public shows for the safe return of the Emperor from his last campaign, he made all the necessary provision for the performance

U. C. 746. Tiberius Claudius Nero, Cn. Calpurnius. Aug. 21mo, ætat. 55.

* "Surge, Carnifex."

† The same year in which Mæcenas died, put a period likewise to the life of Horace. That of Virgil ended about ten years before. Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 7.

of his vow; but being obliged to set out for the army, he intrusted the discharge of his duty to Piso, his colleague in the Consulate, and to Caius Cæsar, the eldest of the Emperor's sons.

This solemnity received a great addition from the sports and entertainments which were given at the same time by the Emperor himself, to celebrate the memory of Agrippa, at the opening of a portico, of a hall, and of the pleasure-grounds which had been bequeathed by that officer to the Roman People *. Gladiators were exhibited at first in simple pairs, afterwards in numerous parties, that fought as in real battles. Such was the ferocity of the Romans in the choice of amusements, even after the character of the people ceased to be military, and when the public entertainments, formerly perhaps admitted as proper in the nursery of soldiers, had no longer any other object than that of ministering to their barbarous pleasure.

The young Cæsars, Caius and Lucius, though not yet of an age to be intrusted with business of State, began to feel the spurs of ambition, and were alarmed in particular at the progress of Livia's family. Even their own stepfather, Tiberius, they were taught to consider as a rival in consideration and power. And it is said, that in order to keep pace with him in his advancement to public honours, the youngest of the two brothers made application to be vested with the dignity of Consul. The proposal was received by the People with applause, but dis-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 8.

couraged by the Emperor, who, reflecting, as he pretended, on the presumption of his own youth, or on the necessity of the times, which had brought himself forward into this station at an improper age, was pleased to say, "That he hoped never again to see a "time, when the office of Consul must be intrusted "to a person under twenty." To pacify the young man under this disappointment, he was promoted to the dignity of the priesthood, by this means got admission into the Senate, and had a place among the members of that body at the public theatre.

Soon after this date, Tiberius, possibly in consequence of the jealousy he had thus given to the Emperor's adopted sons, underwent a great and a sudden change in the state of his own fortunes. Upon his return from the campaign on the Rhine, being vested with the character of Tribune of the People for five years; and, under pretence of a war, likely to arise on the Euphrates, from the defection of the King of Armenia, who was disposed to join the Parthians, he was appointed to command the armies in Syria; but it soon afterwards appeared, that this preferment and change of station were devised, merely to conceal a species of exile or removal from the court. At his departure from Rome, he passed into Asia; but, instead of continuing his route to his pretended destination in Syria, he withdrew to the island of Rhodes, where, under pretence of study, he lived some years in retirement.

U. C. 747. D. Lelius Balbus, C. Antistius Vetus. Aug. 22do. ætat. 56.

The real cause of this retreat of Tiberius, whether the jealousies of the young Cæsars, the misconduct of Julia, or any offence taken by

U. C. 748. Imperator Cæsar

12mo, P. Cornelius Sylla. Aug. 23tio, ætat. 57.
U. C. 749. C. Calvinius Sabinus, L. Passienus Rufus. Aug. 24to, ætat. 58.
U. C. 750. L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Messala. Aug. 25to, ætat. 59.
U. C. 751. Imperator Cæsar 13tio, Ap. M. Plautius Silanus, Caninius Gallus. Aug. 26to, ætat. 60.

the Emperor himself, was never known; and we are deprived of any light which might have been thrown by Dion Cassius on this, or the transactions of some of the succeeding years, by a manifest breach in the text of his history. This defect is very imperfectly supplied from Xiphilinus, Zonaras, or any other of the abbreviators or copiers of this historian.

In collecting from such authors, what is little more than the names of Consuls, which serve to mark the progress of dates, we learn, that in the first year after the retirement of Tiberius, the Emperor himself having persisted, for seventeen years preceding this date, in rejecting the office of ordinary Consul, now again accepted of it; that he intended, in this character, to solemnise the admission of his sons, Caius and Lucius, into the class or order of manhood *; that the ceremony was accordingly performed with respect to the eldest, who now assumed the ordinary dress of a man, was brought into the Senate, and declared chief of the Roman youth †; but with respect to the youngest, that it was deferred till about three years afterwards, when the Emperor again appeared in the character of Consul.

In one of the years of this period, or about the year of Rome seven hundred and fifty-one, is fixed, by the vulgar computation, the commencement of

* Sueton. in Oct. c. 26. † Zonaras. lib. x, c. 35.

our æra at the birth of CHRIST; an event, not calculated to have an immediate influence on the transactions of State, or to make a part in the materials of political history, though destined, in the wisdom and goodness of Providence, to produce, in a few ages, a great change in the institutions manners, and general character of nations.

At this date, from the imperfect records which remain, we have scarcely any materials of history, besides the occurrences of the court, and the city of Rome; the public entertainments that were given, the occasions on which they were exhibited, and the provision that was made in the capital for the subsistence and pleasures of an idle and profligate populace.

The Emperor having again assumed the office of ordinary Consul, that he might preside at the admission of his younger adopted son, Lucius Cæsar, to the age of manhood, continued to hold the office no longer than was necessary for this purpose. He exhibited magnificent shows as usual upon this occasion, and, among others, one that is mentioned probably as a novelty, a shoal of six-and-thirty crocodiles of uncommon size, turned out to be hunted or fished in the bason of the Circus Flaminius *. While the Emperor gratified the People in their public diversions to a degree of debauch, he made some attempts to regulate the gratuitous distribution of corn, that other principal subject of abuse which the Roman citizens, though in other respects fallen from

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 10.

their height, still carefully retained among the relics of their democratical sovereignty.

The People of Rome, so long as they could overawe the Senate by their assemblies or tumults, and so long as they had the disposal of preferments and honours, bartered their suffrages for sports and distributions of corn. For these too, they were now willing to sell their submission to the present establishment; and it was undoubtedly more safe to have deprived them of every other prerogative, than to restrain them in these. The numbers that were accustomed to receive corn at the public granaries, as we may judge from the number of two hundred thousand, to which it was now proposed to reduce them, had increased to an immoderate height; and as the circumstance of being subsisted gratuitously encouraged idleness, so the very attendance required at these monthly distributions gave a considerable interruption to labour. The Emperor endeavoured to apply some correction to both these evils, by reducing the number of pensioners, and by limiting the times of distribution to three particular terms in the year*. But in making this attempt he caused such murmurs, and received so many complaints, that he was obliged to lay aside the design.

A populace thus supported in idleness must likewise be amused, and they received, in this particular, from their masters, whether acting from choice or policy, not only in the first period, but in the subsequent ages of this monarchy, the most lavish indul-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv. c. 10

gence. By Augustus in person, they were presented at different times with four capital exhibitions, consisting of all the entertainments in which they were known to delight, and with three-and-twenty great festivals, solemnized in honour of some other persons, as of his father Julius Cæsar, of his nephew Marcellus, of his friend Agrippa, and of his young relations, now entering into manhood, and coming to the possession of public honours.

The sports themselves, though fierce and irrational in many instances, were splendid, magnificent, and sometimes interesting. The presence of the Roman People, in vast spaces or theatres fitted up to receive them, was always awful and sublime. The precedence of rank at these entertainments, was considered, even under the republic, as a principal object of State. The first benches, accordingly, were reserved for the Senators; the next, at certain periods, had been allotted to the Equestrian order; and the question, whether this order should be mixed with the People, or separated from them, made a subject at different times of much dispute and contention. The female sex too had their places, though at the fights of gladiators they were removed to a distance, being seated behind the other spectators; and from the athletic games were excluded altogether *.

The coarseness, nevertheless, of those public entertainments, to which the Roman women were still admitted; the want of any interval, in their manners, between a rigorous severity, and the other extreme

* Suet. in Octav. c. 44.

of an unbounded licence, had, in many instances, the worst effect on their conduct. The Emperor himself had a distressing example of this effect in his own family, by the flagrant debaucheries of his daughter Julia, who, having once quitted the reserve, and broke through the austerities of her father's house, had no longer any restraints of decency or established propriety to regulate her conduct. It was reported, that without any pretence of seduction, affection, or choice, she multiplied her paramours indefinitely, and even frequented the places of public debauch.

The Emperor, though not supposed to be wanting in the tenderness of a parent, upon the detection of these disorders, proceeded against his daughter more with the rigour of an offended magistrate, than with the reluctant severity of a father. In the first transport of his passion, he hastened to lay her accusation before the Senate, and obtained from this assembly an act of banishment against her, by which she was removed to a small island on the coast, reduced to low diet, and forbid to receive any visits; a species of imprisonment, which became common in the sequel of this, and the subsequent reigns.

Scribonia, the mother of this unhappy exile, now arrived at a great age, and preserving, in a state of separation from her husband, an unblemished reputation, gave way to the feelings of nature, and followed her child into this place of retreat or imprisonment. The father too, upon reflection, grievously lamented his own precipitation, in publishing, by a reference to the Senate, the scandal of his house, and bitterly regretted the severity by which he had em-

poisoned and rendered incurable the wounds of his own family. *If Agrippa or Mæcenas had lived,* he was heard to say, *I should have been restrained from this act of imprudence* *. In the sequel of this transaction, he indulged his resentment with less struggle against the supposed partners of his daughter's guilt; ordered Iulus Antonius, with some other persons of high rank, involved in the same charge, to be put to death. With respect to one of these criminals, who happened to be vested with the character of Tribune, he affected a regard to the ancient laws of the republic, and was pleased to respite the execution of the sentence until the time of his office as Tribune should expire. Being told that Phœbé, the freedwoman and confidant of Julia, when she heard of her mistress's fate, had put herself to death; *I had rather be the father of Phœbé,* he said, *than of Julia.*

Persons who were disposed to pay their court, ever ready to seize the opportunity, took occasion to flatter the Emperor, even by reminding him of this painful transaction. They hastened to shew themselves in a situation like that of the prince, and to offer him the consolation of fellow-sufferers in the distress he endured; made complaints in the Senate of the licence of their daughters and of their wives, and even raked up particulars of an obsolete date. They too brought formal prosecutions, in order to obtain the interposition of law and public authority to restrain the disorder of their families; but the Emperor re-

* Seneca de Ben. c. 32.

ceived this species of courtship with disgust, and refused to hear any accusation, of which the subject had preceded a fixed and very recent date *.

We are left at a loss for the sequel of this history, during the two years that immediately followed; but in a period, of which these were the principal transactions, we cannot be surprised that the chronicle is defective, nor indeed greatly regret the silence of a few years.

U. C. 752. Caius Cornelius Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Piso. August. 27mo, aetat. 61.

The ordinary administration of Augustus, in pursuing the political, civil, and military forms, which he had established, no doubt was able and successful, but, being once described, does not admit of repetition. The more interesting subjects of history, transactions that rouse the passions, and keep in suspence the expectations, the hopes, and the fears of men, were in this reign most carefully avoided. A powerful army was stationed on the Rhine, to keep the peace of that frontier. Even the court was lulled into perfect tranquillity by the want of any competition for the Emperor's favour. This point being fully decided, by the place which was occupied by the Cæsars, Caius and Lucius; their supposed rival Tiberius, who had been sacrificed to their jealousy, still remained in his exile at Rhodes.

U. C. 753. C. Cæsar, Aug. Nepos. L. Emilius Paulus. Aug. 28vo, aetat. 62.

The defection of Armenia from the alliance of the Romans to that of the Parthians, the occasion upon which it had been pretended that Tiberius was des-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 10.

tined to command in Asia, still subsisted; but the command of the armies in that part of the world, with the charge of recovering the kingdom of Armenia to its former state of dependence on Rome, was committed to Caius Cæsar, now first in the favour of the Emperor, and highest in the expectations of the People.

U. C. 754. P. Vinucius, Aflinius Varus. Aug. 29no, ætat. 63.

It was thought proper, that both the brothers about this time should be sent to the command of armies; Caius to that of Syria, and Lucius to Spain: and these removals of the young Cæsars from court, were supposed to be devised or procured by the Empress Livia, because they made way, in a little time afterwards, for the recall of her own son *.

But before any resolution taken at court in favour of Tiberius was publicly known, Caius Cæsar, in his way to the East, arrived in Greece, attended by a numerous train. At Chios, he received a visit from Tiberius himself, professing the most submissive respect to the prince, and to the officers of his court; and from thence continuing his route through the province of Asia, was every where received as the son of the Emperor.

The king of Parthia, upon the arrival of the young Cæsar in his neighbourhood, desired to have a conference with him, and they met on the Euphrates in a small island, each having an equal number of attendants. They afterwards mutually accepted of entertainments from each other in their respective quarters. Phraates became bound not to support the

* Vell. Paterc. Lib. ii. c. 103.

Armenians in their defection from the alliance of Rome, and Caius took measures to possess himself of their country, as a province of the empire. But on his approach to Antagera, a place on the frontier of Armenia, the gates being shut against him, he having presented himself under the walls, while he summoned the governor to surrender, was struck by an arrow from the battlements. The wound he received, though in appearance not mortal, affected his health, and threw him into a state of dejection or languor, in which he desired to be recalled from his station, and expressed his disgust to affairs of State. Being accordingly permitted to retire from his command by the Emperor, who was mortified to find in him a pusillanimity so unworthy of the son of Agrippa, and of his own successor, he was carried to the coast in a litter, and there embarked for Italy; but having on his way put into a port of Lycia, he died at Lymira in that province, and thus appearing to have sunk under the depression of some physical malady, was acquitted of the pusillanimity which he otherwise seemed to betray.

U. C. 755. L. Ælius Lamia, M. Servilius Nepos. Aug. 3Cmo, ætat. 64.

Lucius, the other grandson of Augustus, by his daughter Julia, died some time before at Marseilles, in his way to Spain; and these deaths happening so opportunely for the family of Livia, laid this designing woman under suspicion of having been active in procuring them. The bodies of the deceased, to be interred at Rome, were borne through the provinces by the principal inhabitants, and officers of State. Their shields and lances, richly adorned with gold,

being gifts made to them by the Equestrian order, on being declared of age, were hung up as monuments in the hall of the Senate *.

About this time, the third period of ten years, for which Augustus had accepted of the government, being expired, he went through the form of resignation, and of re-assuming his power.

The People, at one of the entertainments which were given on this occasion, having applied to the Emperor an applauded passage of some poet, with the title of *Lord* or *Master*, he gave signs of displeasure, and, on the following day, published a serious edict, forbidding the title of *Master* being given to him by any person, or upon any occasion whatever †. *My name is Cæsar*, he said, *and not Master*.

Augustus had now survived his principal confidents and friends, his nephew and grandchildren, on whom he had rested his hopes, and was himself in the decline of life. He had been recently dishonoured in the conduct of his daughter, and had bound himself; by a formal act of the Senate, to persist in the rigour of his treatment towards her. In these circumstances, it was thought that intercessions in favour of a child must be flattering to the father, and many applications were accordingly made in her behalf; but he remained inexorable; and being guided entirely by the influence of Livia, cast himself upon her family as a last resort. Under these circumstances, and from the approach of dissolution, he was

* Zonaras, lib. x, c. 36. Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 102, 103. Dio. Cass. lib lv c. 11, 12.

† Orosius, lib. vi, fine.

observed to languish, or to lose much of his former vivacity.

Tiberius had been recalled to Rome soon after the departure, and before the death of the two Cæsars. Upon this last event, he was adopted by the Emperor; but on condition, that he himself, though a father, having a son already mentioned of the name of Drusus, by his first wife Vipsania, should nevertheless adopt Germanicus Cæsar, by birth the son of his brother, who being elder than his own son, was destined to have the advantage of seniority in all their future pretensions.

This successor to Agrippa and his family, being now also the adopted son of Augustus, and heir apparent of his fortunes, had every where a numerous attendance of persons who wished to pay their court.

U. C. 756. Sext. Ælius Catus, C. Sentius Saturnius. Aug. 51mo, ætat. 65.

Being appointed to his former station, at the head of the armies on the Rhine, his progress through the provinces, to that frontier, was marked by the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to receive him. In his first campaign he penetrated to the Weser, and overran all the nations of that neighbourhood *.

The Emperor himself, thus relying upon his newly adopted son for the conduct of the war on the Rhine, remained at Rome, where he was employed chiefly in reforming the Senate, and in rebuilding his mansion, which had been lately consumed by fire. In the last of these works, he had offers of assistance

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 104.

from many of the Senators, and from persons of his court, who brought him considerable sums in the way of voluntary contribution. But being unwilling to let the burden thus fall entirely upon those who were the most attached to his person, he laid a tax of twenty-five denarii on each corporation, and a capitation of one denarius on each individual; and having from this fund restored a building, which had hitherto been accounted a private possession, he declared it for the future a public edifice, destined * for the residence of the supreme commander of the army, or head of the empire †.

Ten commissioners being appointed to inspect the rolls of the Senate, and to restore its dignity, the first measure proposed for this purpose was to take away all appearance of constraint, and to leave every member at liberty to resign his seat; but the greater number, either fearing to be marked out as disaffected, or willing to partake in the known bounty of Cæsar, who, in many instances, repaired the fortunes of Senators that were gone to decay, still continued to hold their places, affecting a zeal for the forms of a council, on which Augustus was pleased to rest his authority.

In this and other instances, it is instructive to observe with what care this sovereign of the empire endeavoured to flatter the vanity of Roman citizens, by preserving the distinction of ranks ‡, while in

* From the situation of this mansion on the Palatine Hill, every royal or princely residence has since taken the name of Palace.

† Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 12, 13.

‡ It is instructive, no doubt, to know, that gradations are expedient to absolute government, as well as to freedom.

reality his policy was calculated to remove every distinction, and to render all ranks equally dependent on himself; or, if any distinction were suffered to remain, to render the most honourable conditions, under his successors, always the least secure.

Augustus had returns made of all the most respectable families in Italy, and of those who had a property of above two hundred sestertia *. He laid great restraints on the manumission of slaves; a practice by which he alleged, that the privilege of Romans was rashly prostituted to the refuse of all nations, and to the meanest order of men. The Lex Ælia Sentia, which took its name from one of the Consuls of this year, had for its object the reformation of this abuse. As error, on the part of the master, was supposed incident chiefly to young persons, an age was specified, at which a master should have the power of setting his slave at liberty, and an age likewise of the slave, at which he might be set free; together with the mutual rights and privileges of the patron or former master, and of the freedman or emancipated slave †.

As the present government began to have prescription, as well as expediency, on its side, every attempt on the Emperor's life had the criminality of treason, and must have been condemned upon every consideration which established monarchy can suggest. Whoever made such an attempt might be considered as a dangerous and ill-advised assassin, who attacked the community itself in the person of its

* About L. 1600 † Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 13.

sovereign, and whose crime, in that particular instance, tended to involve the world anew in anarchy and bloodshed.

The privileges or pretensions of citizens, under the republic, were long since effaced. But a very few were left who had enjoyed, or even could remember the existence of them; yet private resentment, or the remains of republican zeal, and the supposed right of every person to repel usurpations, had produced some attempts of this sort during the present reign. Even in this advanced period of it, a conspiracy was detected, in which Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, and descended of that Cinna, who, together with Caius Marius, was a leader of the popular faction, formed a design to suppress the present usurpation of Cæsar, and to restore the republic, in which his ancestors had made so conspicuous a figure.

Augustus was greatly perplexed on the discovery of this plot; and having already, on like occasions, exhausted the means of severity, was now, it is said, persuaded by Livia to try the effects of clemency, and of a generous confidence. "This conduct," she observed, "would tend to disarm his enemies, and "would interest numbers in his preservation, by the "ties of affection and gratitude."

The Emperor, being accordingly prevailed on to take this course, ordered that the conspirator should be introduced to his presence, gave him to understand that his guilt was discovered, and his accomplices known; remonstrated against an attempt so ungenerous and unprovoked, but relieved the young man of his fears, by assuring him of pardon, and

every other effect of protection for the future. In these assurances he even went beyond what mere clemency required, affecting to upbraid the author of a design on his life with false modesty, in not demanding the honours to which he was justly entitled by his birth; and concluded with saying, That, as he trusted they were from henceforward to be friends, he should be glad to receive his applications in any matter by which he could contribute to his advancement or interest; and, in the meantime, named him for Consul at the next succession to this dignity.

U. C. 757. Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus. L. Valerius Messala Volusius. Aug. 82do, ætat. 66.

In this year are dated, among other measures, some regulations which were made by the Emperor for the better government of the army; and, what was scarcely less important in the prevailing opinion, for the conduct of entertainments in the public theatres. The military establishment, at this period, consisted of six-and-twenty legions *, with nine or ten Prætorian bands, composed of a thousand men each. Augustus, to restore the honours of the military character, had, from the beginning of his reign, made it a rule to exclude from his armies, as much as possible, all emancipated slaves. This exclusion, together with some reformations which diminished the profits formerly enjoyed by the troops, rendered it extremely difficult, upon any sudden emergency, to complete the legions. Augustus found himself obliged to increase his bounty in order to re-

* Dion. Cass. lib. lv. c. 23. Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. c. 5.

cruit the army; but instead of giving more to those who enlisted, or increasing his levy money, he wisely chose to engage them by the hope of future advantages, to be reaped after certain periods of dutiful service were over. In the Prætorian bands, he made a regulation, that, after sixteen years' service, the veteran should be entitled to his dismission; and a premium of twenty thousand sesterces *. In the legions, after twelve years' service, that he should be entitled to twelve thousand sesterces †; and as a fund for these payments, it is probable that the tax of a twentieth on all legacies bequeathed to strangers, heirs of choice, or to distant relations, was imposed about this time. This tax did not extend to the inheritance of ordinary heirs at law, nor to legacies ‡ made for relief of the poor, or to persons in indigent circumstances.

With respect to the public entertainments, fresh regulations were made, to keep places distinct in the Circus for Senators and Knights, apart from the commons, or lower class of the People.

It being observed, that the office of Ædile, which formerly included the direction of public entertainments, was now avoided; and that even the dignity of a Vestal, which was wont to be so much desired by the most honourable families at Rome, ceased to be in request, it was decreed, that all the Quæstors of any preceding year should cast lots for the office of Ædile; and that the rules, restricting the choice of Vestals to persons of the most noble extraction,

* About L. 160. † About L. 1 0. ‡ Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 24.

should now be considerably relaxed, or dispensed with; so that women, descended even from enfranchised slaves, might be admitted to complete the number: a very unlikely way to engage persons of superior rank to embrace the profession.

This year Agrippa Posthumus came of age, and assumed the dress of manhood; but, though adopted, as his elder brothers had been, into the family of Cæsar, he appears not to have been thought worthy to replace them; and being obscured by the riper age, and superior favour of Tiberius, he passed through this ceremony with fewer demonstrations of consideration or respect from the Emperor himself, or from the People, than had been paid to his brothers.

The public was alarmed with earthquakes and inundations of rivers, which, however destructive, were considered more as the presages of future calamities than as present evils; and the popular superstition in this point was confirmed by the distress of a famine, which immediately followed, or accompanied these natural events. The inundation of the Tiber had overflowed the city for many days, so as to make it necessary to pass in boats through some of the lower streets. The markets could not be supplied; and this circumstance, joined to a real scarcity, which kept up the prices after the inundation subsided, occasioned a dearth which continued for some years.

U. C. 758. M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Arunti-

Under the difficulty with which a necessary supply of provisions was found, it was judged necessary to lessen the usual consumption; and for this purpose all gladiators *, all

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 22.

us, ex Kal. Jul. Calicus Caius Vibius. Aug. 33tio, ætat. 67.

Slaves kept for sale, and all foreigners, except physicians and public teachers, were ordered to be removed a hundred miles from the city*. Even the servants and attendants of the imperial court were dismissed in great numbers: a vacation was proclaimed in the tribunals of justice, so that as many as could possibly be spared from the city should depart. The attendance of Senators was dispensed with; and the law requiring the presence of certain numbers of that body to give validity to their acts, was suspended. Commissioners were named to inspect the markets. All feasting, on the birth-day of the Emperor, or on other days of rejoicing, was prohibited; and persons, wont to receive any part of their subsistence in corn from the public granaries, had double the usual quantity served out to them.

Notwithstanding these measures, taken for the relief of the People, their discontents breaking forth in libels and seditious complaints, rewards were published for discovering the authors, and some being detected, were brought to trial, and punished †.

The Emperor, now willing, in the decline of his strength, to be relieved from part of the ordinary business of State, intrusted the receiving of foreign ambassadors to three persons whom he chose from the Senate. At the same time, he himself, with his ordinary council, continued to deliberate on all questions which arose relating to the internal government of the empire. He appears to have committed him-

* Sueton. in August. c. 44. † Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 26

self, without any prospect of change, to the influence of Livia and her family; and, to be confirmed in this disposition, had frequent visits from Tiberius, who, though generally stationed on the frontier of the empire, carefully attended to the state of his interests at Rome, as they stood both with the Emperor and with the people.

In the tide, which was thus turned in favour of the Claudian family, the surviving Agrippa seemed to form a considerable bar; but this young man, being of a rude and brutal disposition, gave his antagonists every advantage against him in their supposed competition. Having, about this time, given some flagrant proof of this character in his behaviour to Livia, and even to the Emperor himself, he was degraded from his place in the family of Cæsar, and sent, under a military guard, to the island of Planasia, near to Corsica, where he remained a prisoner during the remainder of this reign *.

From this disgrace of Agrippa Posthumus, it was no longer doubtful, that Tiberius was destined to inherit the fortunes and power of Augustus. He alone was intrusted, wherever great armies were to be assembled, and was employed in every service that was likely to end with lustre. Troubles on the frontier of Asia or Africa were intrusted to other hands; but the harder struggle with the Germans, Dalmatians, and other fierce nations of Europe, was committed to him. After having penetrated, in his last campaign, to the Weser and the Elbe †, he was called

* Dio. Cas. lib. lv, c. 32. † Ibid. lib. lv, c. 27—30.

off to support his nephew and adopted son Germanicus Cæsar, who, commanding the army on the side of Dalmatia, found himself too weak to accomplish the service on which he had been employed.

U. C. 759. A. Licinius Nerva Ælianus, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus. Aug. 31to, ætat. 68.

The provinces east of the Hadriatic, or from thence probably to the Danube, had formed the plan of a general revolt. And it was reported, at this time, that nations of that quarter could assemble eight hundred thousand men, and that they had actually on foot two hundred thousand infantry, properly armed, with nine thousand horse. Being so powerful in point of numbers, they were enabled to divide their strength, and to carry on operations, at the same time, in different places. They destined one part of their force to invade Italy, by Tergesté and Nauportus; another, to take possession of Macedonia; and a third, to defend their possessions at home. They had now joined to their own ferocity a considerable knowledge of the discipline and forms of the Roman legion, and conducted their present design with so much address, as to escape observation, until it was ripe for execution. They gave the first intimation of their hostile intentions, by a general massacre of the Romans, who, as provincial officers or traders, were found in their country, and cut off all the military posts which had been advanced to protect the settlers from Italy. They entered Macedonia without opposition; and, with fire and sword, laid waste all the possessions and establishments of the Romans in that province *.

* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. c. 110

Such was the progress of a war, already begun with the barbarous nations of the northern and eastern frontier of the empire, which, during some ages, at intervals, interrupted and resumed, often put Italy itself upon the defensive, was always formidable, and at last fatal to the sovereignty of Rome.

U. C. 760. M. Furius Camillus, Sext. Nonius Quintilianus. Aug. 35to, ætat. 69.

The Romans, by the continual efforts of seven centuries, through the territory of warlike hordes who opposed them, and over forests and rugged ways, that were every where to be cleared at the expence of their labour and their blood, had made their way from the Tiber to the Rhine and the Danube: but the ways they had made to reach their enemies were now open, in their turns, for their enemies to reach themselves. The ample resources which they had formed by their cultivation increased the temptation to invade them, and facilitated all the means of making war upon their country. And in the sequel, by reducing the inhabitants of their provinces, in every part, to pacific subjects, they brought the defence of the empire to depend on a few professional soldiers, who composed the legions.

Under apprehension of these circumstances, Augustus was heard to say, on the present occasion, That if proper measures were not speedily taken for the defence of Italy, an enemy from the Danube and the Rhine might, in ten days, be seen from the battlements of Rome. New levies were accordingly made, and the order not to enlist emancipated slaves was suspended. The

U. C. 761. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus, C. Poppæus Sabinus, ex Kal. Jul. M. Papius Mutilus, Q. Poppæus Secundus. Aug. 36to, ætat. 70.

veterans, who had been discharged from the legions, were again ordered to repair to their colours; and citizens of every condition were required to furnish, in proportion to their estates or possessions, certain quotas of men for the service.

While the People, under so many symptoms of trepidation, were made sensible of their own danger, Augustus seems to have thought it a proper opportunity to renew the part he had often acted, in recommending population and marriage. He called together, in separate assemblies, first the married who had families of children, afterwards the barren and the unmarried; and finding the superiority of numbers on the side of the latter, expressed his concern in a public address to the People; enlarged on the consequences of population to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth; revived the marriage-laws, and, by an act which took its name from Papius and Poppæus*, Consuls of this year, gave additional rewards to the married, and laid new penalties on celibacy, with a considerable premium to the prosecutor by whom any person should be convicted of contumacy in resisting the law.

Before these regulations should be enforced, a year was allowed to the unmarried to change their condition; and the rigour of former laws†, respecting the inheritance of women, which had hitherto been restricted to a hundred thousand sesterces ‡, was considerably abated. Females were allowed to inherit a larger sum; and, the better to testify the homage

* Lex Papia Poppæa. † Lex Voconia. ‡ About L. 800

that was paid to female virtue, the Vestals were admitted to partake in the privilege of Roman parents having three children *.

In the meantime, great efforts were made to keep the enemy at a distance, and to fix the scene of the war in their own country. Tiberius advanced for this purpose into Dalmatia, and the Emperor himself, that he might be nearer the scene of operations, to receive reports, to profit by intelligence, and to give his directions, set out for Ariminum. He had, for some time, empowered the Senate to continue their proceedings in his absence. As he ceased to attend the Comitia or Assemblies of the People, he made free with their privileges; and, under pretence of disorders occasioned by the elections, took upon himself the nomination of magistrates, or signified his choice to the Tribes by a writ of recommendation. Public prayers were now offered for his preservation; and at his departure from the city, as if he were going on a service of great danger to his person, many vows were made, and sacrifices destined to be offered up in case of his safe return †.

Although the force of the empire was not yet fallen so low as to justify so much apprehension, the alarm nevertheless continued for three years ‡.

Tiberius, upon his arrival in Dalmatia, found the barbarians, who had invaded that country, commanded by two leaders of the names of Bato and Pinetes. He formed his own army into three divisions, com-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 1, 2, 10. † Ibid. c. 34.

‡ Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii, c. 114.

manded by Germanicus, Sylvanus Lepidus, and himself. By this disposition he began his operations in three different quarters at once.

U. C. 762. P. Cornelius Dolabella, C. Junius Silanus, ex Kal. Jul. Ser. Cornelius. Aug. 37mo, ætat. 71.

Sylvanus Lepidus, in the service which was committed to him, met with little resistance. Where Tiberius himself commanded, the Romans were long detained in the blockade of a castle, which being built on a rock, was rendered inaccessible by the height of its situation, and by the depths of the glens and gulleys that were formed by the torrents with which it was surrounded. Bato had taken post in this place with a numerous body of his countrymen; and being provided with necessaries, endeavoured to tire out his enemy. But he himself, in the end, being weary of his inactive and hopeless situation, found means to escape, and left the remains of his countrymen, worn out with want and impatience, to surrender at discretion.

Where Germanicus commanded, the enemy had taken refuge in Anduba, a fortress similarly situated with the former, but which, after repeated attacks, was at last betrayed into his hands by the dissension of the barbarians themselves who defended it. These, having quarrelled, turned their swords mutually against each other. One of the parties set the quarters of their antagonists on fire, and both fell an easy prey to their enemies. Many of the women, to avoid captivity, threw themselves, with their children, into the flames*. Bato soon after surrendered himself;

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi, c. 12, 11 15

and being asked, What tempted him to make war on the Romans? made answer, "You affect to treat "every nation as your flocks and your property; but "you intrust the care of them, not to shepherds and "their dogs, but to ravenous wolves *."

At the close of the war, the title of Imperator, with the triumphal ornaments, were decreed at once to Tiberius, and to his adopted son Germanicus †: but, in the midst of the rejoicings which were made on this occasion, accounts of a different nature were received from the Rhine.

The Romans, wishing to command the passage of that river, had occupied, as has already been mentioned, some part of the country, and fortified some stations on the German side. By this disposition it was intended, in case the natives should attempt a descent upon Gaul, that part of the Roman army should be so placed as to remain in their rear. And indeed, while they secured the navigation of the river, and had possession of both its banks, they, in some measure, rendered every such attempt impracticable. In consequence of this arrangement, accordingly, the Germans had, for some time, discontinued the practice of making incursions into Gaul. They were become familiar with the guests who were stationed in the country, exchanged commodities, and began to imitate their manners.

Such was the state of the nations situate between the Rhine and the Weser, when Quinctilius Varus, who had been left by Tiberius in the command of

* Dio. Cass. lib. lv, c. 56. † Ibid. lib. lvi, c. 17.

the German frontier, began to consider the inhabitants around him as ripe for the ordinary impositions which the Romans used to lay on their provincial subjects, and made some exactions for the supply of his army.

Some chiefs or leaders of the neighbourhood, particularly Segimerus, prince of the Chatti, and his son Arminius, had observed, with indignation, these encroachments, and lamented the gradual decline of their country into a Roman province. Being at the head of a powerful horde, and much respected by all the nations of that quarter, they entered into a concert to cut off all the Romans who were posted on the German side of the Rhine, and to restore the independence of their People. They concealed their design, by redoubling their attention to the Roman general; took their residence in his quarters, and applied to him for decision in all the disputes which arose among the natives; made him acquainted with the weaknesses and strengths of their country; and served him as guides in conducting the marches, and in fixing the stations, of his troops.

While, by these artifices, Segimerus and Arminius lulled the Roman legions into perfect security, they had their own followers ready to assemble under arms, and brought all the chieftains of their neighbourhood under engagements to join them, as soon as their design should be ripe for execution. They proposed to draw the Roman general into a situation in which he could be attacked with advantage, while they themselves, without giving him any alarm, should

have a pretence for advancing towards him with all their forces.

To effect both these purposes, they procured an insurrection of some of the cantons over which Segimerus claimed a supremacy, and implored the assistance of the Roman army in suppressing the revolt. Varus, apprehending that the safety of the Romans, in all their possessions beyond the Rhine, depended on the support he should give to their allies, put his army in motion to quell this pretended rebellion, and advanced, through difficult ways, into the interior parts of the country. On this march he was attended by Segimerus and Arminius, and supplied with every requisite to accommodate the army, or to ensure its success. These chiefs had assembled their own people, and brought forth the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, under pretence of acting as irregulars to cover the march of the Roman legions. In performing this service, the Germans pervaded the marshes and woods in the front, on the flanks, and in the rear of the legions, and had actually surrounded them, when they arrived on the ground on which it was proposed that they should be attacked.

Here the forests and marshes were extensive and impassable, except by a single track. The Romans were crowded together, and encumbered with baggage; and being, under this disadvantage, attacked from every quarter at once, were unable to resist, or even to escape. Varus succeeded in gaining an opening which appeared at some distance in the woods; and there, with as many as could follow him, attempted to intrench himself; but the greater part of

the army had fallen by the hands of the enemy. At night, seeing no hopes of a retreat, the general himself fell upon his sword, and by his example induced many officers and soldiers to employ the same means of avoiding the cruelties or insults to which they were exposed.

A few, having found means to retire under cover of the night, made their way to the Rhine. Here they were received by a party sent, upon the first news of their disaster, by Asprenas from Gaul, to favour their retreat.

It had been concerted by the Germans, that, on the same day, every Roman post in their country should be attacked. Lucius Ceditius, who commanded at Aliso, now supposed to be Elsemberg, being surrounded by superior numbers, forced his way through the enemy, and, under the greatest distresses, arrived on the Rhine. All the other posts were forced, and the troops who had occupied them either taken or killed. Among the former, Caldus, an officer of rank, being a prisoner, and in irons, upon some insult that was offered to him, struck himself on the head with his chains, and expired.

The Romans, on this occasion, lost three entire legions, or about eighteen thousand foot, and a considerable body of horse. Asprenas having remained on the German side of the Rhine only until he had collected together such as escaped from this calamity, withdrew into Gaul, and made dispositions to prevent any commotions which might have ensued in that province.

The first accounts of this disaster were received at

Rome with the highest degree of consternation. The victorious enemy, having cut off what was considered as the strength of the empire on the Rhine, were supposed to be following at the heels of the messenger who brought the news. Guards were posted in different quarters of the city, to prevent disorders, and to quiet the fears of the people. A proclamation was issued, to suspend the changes usually made in the provincial appointments, and requiring every officer to continue in his present command, until express orders were given to the contrary. The sacred records were consulted, to find what religious processions or ceremonies had been performed on the invasion of the Cimbri, and on the breaking out of the Marsic war, and the same rites were now to be repeated. The Emperor, dressed in mourning, for some months, carried in his looks, and in the neglect of his person, every appearance of sorrow*. It was given out, that, in the first transport of grief, he struck his head on the wall of his chamber. Some Gauls, as well as Germans, who were at Rome, were secured and sent into the islands on the coasts of Italy. All citizens were ordered to arm, and many disappeared from the streets, to avoid being pressed to serve in the legions.

There remained a great army on the establishment of the empire; but this army being dispersed over an extensive frontier in Asia and Africa, it was not supposed that a sufficient force could be brought from thence in time to protect the capital against an enemy

* Sueton. in Octav. c. 23.

who was believed to be hastening to its gates. Very violent means were therefore employed to form an army in Italy, and men were forced to take arms under the terror of military execution. The forces which were brought in this manner to the Emperor's standard were placed under the command of Tiberius; and, as fast as they could be put into any regular form, began to move towards Gaul.

In these measures the Romans acted more from their own fears, than from a just apprehension of what was to be expected from the enemy. The most active and vigorous conquerors can seldom act up to the fears of those they have vanquished; and the Germans, on this occasion, content with having freed their own country from the presence of a Roman army, made no attempt to pursue their victory, and remained quiet in their own possessions *.

U. C. 763. M. Æmilius Lepidus, F. Statilius Taurus, ex Kal. Jul. L. Cassius Longinus. Aug. 39vo, ætat. 72.

In the following summer Tiberius and Germanicus, to recover the credit of the Roman arms, having passed the Rhine, laid waste the adjacent country, but, not meeting with an enemy, returned without having given occasion to any other signal event. They supposed that the natives were retired from the frontier, in order to tempt them to follow into the forests of that impervious country, and to engage them in difficult situations. But having done enough to enable the capital to recover from its panic, they brought back in autumn

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi, c. 23, 24.

the Roman army into Gaul, and from thence themselves returned into Italy.

In this year Drusus, the son of Tiberius, acted in the capacity of Quæstor; sixteen Prætors were employed. In the year following the number of these magistrates was reduced to twelve. It being alleged that governors of provinces, when about to remove, extorted attestations and complimentary addresses from the people they had oppressed, in order to stifle complaints, it was enacted that no governor should receive any honorary gift or attestation from his province, during the continuance of his power, nor sooner than six months after his return to Rome.

U. C. 763. Aug. 38vo, ætat. 72.

The age of the Emperor now led men to think of his successor, and prophecies of his death were surmised abroad. This probably gave occasion to the edict which forbade soothsayers to utter predictions relating to the life of any person whatever. Together with this, among the other circumstances which characterise the manners of times, it is said, that Roman knights, or citizens of quality, had permission to exhibit themselves as gladiators on the stage *.

Tiberius, at his return to Rome, after the noted services he had performed on the Save and the Rhine, had a triumphal entry. In ascending the Capitol, where the Emperor had come to receive him †, he dismounted from his carriage, and threw himself at his

U. C. 764. Germanicus Cæsar, C. Fonteius Capito, ex Kal. Jul. C. Vesel-

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii, c. 120. Dio. Cass. lib. lvi, c. 25.

† Sueton. quoted by Piso.

lius Varro. Aug. 39no, ætat. 75.

feet. After the procession was over, a spectacle was presented by Germanicus, in which two hundred lions were hunted down; and a portico, which Livia had erected to the memory of Caius and Lucius Cæsar, being dedicated about this time, served to increase the solemnity.

Of the Claudian family, on whom the sovereignty of the empire seemed now to devolve, Germanicus, the grandson of Livia by Drusus, the younger of her sons, was most in favour with the People. He was recommended by an appearance of openness and candour in his manners, and by the facility with which he engaged, according to the custom of the ancient republic, in the defence of his clients, and in pleading their causes, whether before the Emperor himself, or before the ordinary judges. His adoptive father Tiberius, on the contrary, seemed to be of a dark and suspicious temper, and was supposed, under the appearances of moderation, which he studied to preserve in public, and in presence of the Emperor, to cover a jealous and cruel disposition. But Livia, who, in the present period of her husband's reign, had the entire government of him, preferred her son to her grandson, and employed all her influence to make the choice of a successor fall on the former.

The Emperor, in the mean time, indulged in a respite from trouble which these delegates of his power endeavoured to procure for him, reposed himself much on their care, and by their means was supplied with every change of amusement or pleasure for

which it was known that he had any relish *. For this purpose he was attended by agreeable women, musicians, comedians, and even declaimers on favourite topics in philosophy, of whom the last made a part of the scene at the close of his ordinary meals. At his entertainments he treated the guests with presents of dresses, trinkets, or money, and amused them with lotteries, in which they had chances which entitled them to prizes of different values, or with auctions of pictures, in which, the back of the picture being turned to the company, they bid upon chance, and furnished some sport by the oddity of their purchases †.

Of these pastimes, most were probably the amusements of the Emperor's old age, and marked the decline of his faculties. In his more vigorous years, we may suppose him to have been sufficiently occupied with the business of state, and with the attention which he gave in person to every question that arose in the government of so extensive an empire. Every transaction, indeed, was still communicated to him, and dispatched in his name; but, from the symptoms which he now gave of an inclination to retire from affairs, it is probable that the strength of his mind was greatly abated. So long as he was accustomed to attend the senate in person, he generally received, on the days of their meeting, the compliments of the members at his own house or in the Forum; from thence was conducted by them to the place of assembly, and, before they proceeded to

* Sueton. in August. c. 71. † Ibid. c. 74, 75.

business, commonly went round a circle of those who were present, and spoke somewhat obliging to each. This particular is mentioned as a proof of his affability and condescension; but was in reality the highest circumstance of state which he ever assumed. As an individual, in the vigour of life, he suffered himself to be treated as an equal, and made one at the entertainments and parties of pleasure which were made by his friends; but in the decline of life, as he withdrew from the Senate, so he desired to be excused from receiving the visits of the members, or even of his private friends; and under pretence of being much occupied with the troubles which still subsisted on the frontiers of the empire, he declined going into company upon any occasion whatever *.

U. C. 765. C. Silius, L. Munatius Plancus. Aug. 40mo, ætat. 74.

While the Emperor thus, in a great measure, retired from the public view, the fourth period of ten years, for which he had accepted of the government, being about to expire, he again resumed his command with the usual forms, prolonged the tribunitian power in the person of Tiberius for other five years, and permitted his son Drusus, from being Quæstor, to be entered on the list of Consuls, without passing through the rank of Prætor.

Augustus, in entering upon this new period of his government, in which he was no longer to attend the Senate in person, received from this body, by a formal act, full powers, with the advice of his ordinary council, to determine all questions of state, and, with the concurrence of the Claudii, his adoptive chil-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 26.

dren, to enact laws, of equal authority with those he had formerly passed in the Senate. These powers he had already exercised; and we may suppose them to have been thus formally conferred upon him, chiefly that it might be made to appear how far the family of Livia, now included in the same act, were raised to an avowed participation of the imperial authority.

The first consultations of this new legislature were employed on the subject of the penal laws, which, having remained without any considerable change from the times of the republic, were still, in respect to the forms of trial, better calculated to protect the subject, than to gratify the passions of the sovereign. Exile, for instance, by which, under the republic, criminals were at liberty to evade any sentence, and which, in reality, had nothing grievous besides the circumstance of their being obliged to travel from Rome, and to forego city preferments and honours, was, by a regulation now made, rendered more severe. Whoever it was thought proper to remove, under a sentence of banishment, by this regulation was no longer at liberty to choose the place of his retreat, nor suffered to retain his effects. He might reside in any island surrounded with fifty miles of sea, and in some islands which were mentioned, as Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia, though less remote; but he was entirely debarred from the continent. He was allowed to retain of his estate, if it amounted to so much, five hundred thousand sesterces*, and might have a ship of a thousand amphoræ†,

* About L. 4000.

† The amphora, according to Arbuthnot, contained about seven gallons

and two boats, with twenty servants or slaves; but was not at liberty to pass from one island to another, nor to change the place of his abode.

So far the transition from the jealousy of the citizen against the severities of government, which is a part in the spirit of liberty, to the jealousy of the prince against the licence of his subjects, which equally belongs to despotism, was abundantly mild: but, although it was the object, rather than the measure of chastisement, that gave the alarm, even this law, under the prospect of its immediate application, gave weight to the chains with which every citizen already felt himself loaded. The subjects of prosecution which were likely to draw the animadversion of a despotical court, were not injuries to society, and offences to human nature, which the ingenuous ever wish to shun in themselves, as well as to restrain in others; but rather want of submission or respect, libels, petulant freedoms, and even merit itself, if such as to excite jealousy in the powerful. And the new law, indeed, by the directions contained in it to take cognisance of libels and defamatory publications, under the denomination of treason, seemed to point chiefly at this species of guilt: and, after all, it was not the law itself, so much as the arbitrary application of it, that was likely to deprive every Roman of that degree of security or personal freedom to which he still had pretensions *.

In the same year, mankind had still more reason

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi. c. 27, 28. Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 7.

U. C. 796. Sext. Pompeius, Sext. Apuleius. Aug. 41mo, æt. 75.

to be alarmed; Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government, and declared to have equal power with the Emperor himself in all the provinces within his department *. On this occasion, the new associate in the empire, to raise his own consideration, and to amuse the People, exhibited no less than three separate triumphal processions; at the end of which †, there being some disorders subsisting on the side of Dalmatia and Illyricum, which seemed to require his presence, and he being to set out for this province, Augustus was pleased to accompany him on the road to Beneventum. They went to Astura by land; but as Augustus, when the wind was favourable, always preferred going by water, they embarked at this place, and steered for the coast of Campania. On their passage, the Emperor was seized with a dysentery, but continued, as on a party of pleasure, to visit the different islands contiguous to the bay of Naples. At Capreæ he passed some days with uncommon gaiety, and without appearing to suffer much from his distemper. At Naples, too, he attended the public sports, which were given upon his arrival. From thence he continued his route to Beneventum, where Tiberius, being to embark at Brundisium, took his leave, and the Emperor set out on his return to Rome. But, finding his strength decline, on a sudden he halted at Nola, a place in which his family had originally some possessions, and at which his father died. From the time of

* Vell. Pater. lib. ii. c. 121. † Ibid.

his arrival at this place, he refused to listen to any proposal of business *. On the morning of the 18th of August, he asked if his illness had caused any tumults or insurrections, called for a mirror, and desired to be dressed. Even in this there appeared some feature of his character; dignity of manner, with an attention to his person. "What think you "now," he said to those who attended him, How "have I acted my part?" Then repeated the form with which actors commonly end the representation of a play, desiring the audience, that if the piece was to their liking, they should applaud *. "I found," he said, "a city of brick, and changed it into mar-"ble." In this, probably, he alluded to his policy in the State, as well as to his buildings at Rome.

Augustus died at three in the afternoon of the eighteenth of August, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His body was transported from Nola to Bovillæ, carried by the magistrates of the several towns on the route. They moved in the night, and halted by day, to avoid the heat of the season. At Bovillæ it was received, and carried forward to Rome, by a numerous company of the Equestrian order.

The Senate met to deliberate on the honours to be paid at the funeral; and the members vied with each other in the proposals they made to exalt the deceased, and to express their own sorrow ‡. Some proposed, that the funeral procession should pass through a triumphal arch, preceded by the statue of Victory; and that the ceremony should conclude with a so-

* Sueton. in August. c. 100. † Ibid. Plaudite. ‡ Ibid.

lemn dirge, or song of grief, to be performed by the children of all the principal families in Rome. Others moved, that, on the day of his funeral, the noble Romans should exchange the gold ring, which was the badge of their rank, for one of iron; that the ashes should be collected from the funeral pile by the highest order of priests.

At this funeral, in whatever form it was executed, two orations were pronounced; one by Tiberius, who had been recalled on the near approach of the Emperor's death; the other by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, on whom the name and inheritance of Cæsar had now devolved.

CHAP. XL.

The will of Augustus.—Review of his reign.—And of his character.—Tiberius returns to Nola.—Issues, without delay, his orders throughout the empire.—In the senate, affects reluctance to charge himself with the government.—Mutiny in Panonia.—On the Rhine.—Second mutiny on the arrival of deputies from the senate.—Imposture of Clemens.—Plot of Libo.—Description of Tiberius.—Death of Germanicus,—And trial of Piso.

AUGUSTUS had made his will about sixteen months before he died, bequeathing two-thirds of his estate to Tiberius, the other third to Livia, with an injunction to take the names of Julia and Augusta. In default of Livia and her son, he substituted the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius, for a third; and overlooking Claudius, one of the sons of the elder Drusus, and grandson of Livia, he bequeathed the remainder to the brother, Germanicus Cæsar, and his offspring, already consisting of three sons, and as many daughters *. To this numerous list of heirs, he further substituted an ostentatious catalogue of principal citizens and senators. But persisted so much in his severity to the unhappy Julia, as even to forbid her a place in his monument. As a legacy

* The three sons were, Nero, Drusus, and Caius or Caligula; the three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livia or Livilla.

to be distributed to the Roman People, he bequeathed four millions of sesterces, or about thirty-three thousand pounds Sterling; as a fund for the Tribes or wards of the city, to defray their respective corporation expences, he bequeathed three millions five hundred thousand sesterces, or about twenty-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-six pounds Sterling; to the Prætorian bands, one thousand sesterces, or about eight pounds Sterling a man; to the Cohorts of the city, five hundred, or about four pounds Sterling a man; to the Legions, three hundred, or about two pounds ten shillings a man *. These sums he ordered to be paid immediately; leaving money in his coffers sufficient for this purpose. Other legacies, of which some did not exceed one hundred and sixty, or one hundred and seventy pounds Sterling, he directed to be paid at different times, and alleged the scantiness of his estate, from which his heirs were not likely to draw above one hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or about one million three hundred thousand pounds Sterling. The sums which he had received in legacies, amounting to about eleven millions Sterling, he had expended in public works.

After his will was read, four separate memorials were produced. The first contained instructions for his funeral; the second, a list of the actions which he wished to have recorded on his tomb; the third, a state of the republic, including the military establishment and distribution of the legions, the revenue, the public disbursements, the money actually

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi, c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. 8.

lodged in the treasury, the arrears of taxes that were due, with a reference to the persons in whose hands the vouchers were to be found.

The fourth memorial contained political instructions or maxims, in which he dissuaded the People from the too frequent manumission of slaves, and from the too easy admission of foreigners to the dignity of Roman citizens; concluding with a recommendation to fill the offices of state with men of experience and reputation. The public service, he observed, never should be intrusted to a single officer, nor all the powers of the commonwealth be suffered to accumulate in the hands of any one person. Such exclusive trusts, he said, must lead to abuse, and end in a scarcity of hands fit to be employed. Such were the arguments of Catulus and Cato, when they pleaded against the exorbitant powers of Pompey and Cæsar; and in this, the reasonings now ascribed by historians to Augustus seem to be borrowed from former models, and with too little regard to the difference of persons and times.

It is said with more authority, that in this memorial, the Emperor renewed his injunction, to discontinue the progress of conquest, or to desist from any further extension of the empire *.

Such are the principal circumstances upon record, from which we are able to collect the character of this celebrated reign. The immediate effects of it, in many parts, appear to have been splendid and salutary. Among these, we are to reckon the cessa-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvi, c. 32. Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. 8.

tion of wars and reformation of government in the Roman provinces. Under this establishment, instead of the Consuls, who, being annually elected by the People, at every succession renewed the policy of their country for dominion or conquest, there began a succession of Emperors, who were addicted to sloth and sensuality, more than to ambition; or who, if in youth, or in any particular period of life, disposed to war, soon exhausted their ardour for military fame, and became from thenceforward a powerful restraint on the passions of those who acted under their authority. These they considered as rivals and objects of jealousy, or as dangerous instruments, ever ready to involve them in wars abroad, to disturb their government at home, or to divert their revenue from those pleasurable applications in which they wished to have it employed.

Whatever, by the establishment of monarchy, was lost to citizens of rank, or high pretension at Rome, was gained to the other subjects of the empire. The provinces, from being the temporary property of individuals, and stripped to enrich a succession of masters, became the continued subjects of a sovereign, who, as often as he understood his own interest, protected them against the oppression of his officers, and spared or nursed them as a continual source of revenue and of power to himself.

While these desirable effects naturally resulted from the new establishment, many circumstances of great lustre in the history of the age were ascribed to the sovereign. The seeds of ingenuity, and of liberal arts, which had been sown, and which were

already sprung up with so much vigour under the republic, now began to be reaped in a plentiful har-

Literature, and all the more agreeable fruits of ingenuity, received under the first Emperor a peculiar degree of attention and encouragement. Augustus was himself a proficient in letters, or, willing to be amused with the pursuits of the learned, read his own productions in the circle of his friends; and, what is more difficult for an author, heard, without jealousy, the compositions of others, by which his own were probably far excelled. He had saved from the wreck of his enemy's party, protected from the oppression of his own, and selected as his favourites, the most ingenious men of the times*. By his munificence to these, his own name, as well as that of his minister, has become proverbial in the history of letters, and is deeply inscribed on monuments, which never can perish, except by some calamity fatal to mankind.

The provinces, greatly diversified in respect to situation, climate, and soil, as well as in respect to the arts which they severally possessed, having the benefit of general peace, and the protection of a common sovereign, reaped the advantage of an easy communication, and a flourishing trade. All the surplus wealth of the more cultivated parts of the earth, being drawn to the capital, and being at the dispo-

* Horace was saved from the rout of the republican party at Philippi: and Virgil, from among the sufferers ejected from their property, to make way for the army of Cæsar.

sal of single men, was expended in works of magnificence, and, if not of utility, at least of splendid caprice. From this fund were erected those magnificent fabrics, of which the ruins still mark the place on which stood the capital of the western world. The empire, at the same time, in all its parts, received those improvements, which are the ordinary attendants of opulence and peace. The lands were cultivated; cities were built, adorned, or enlarged.

The rough and vigorous hands, by which this great empire was formed, had carried the balance of justice, and the sword of state, before they could manage the tools of the more ordinary and inferior arts, and had given empire to their country, before they had provided for themselves any considerable means of accommodation or pleasure. A Roman citizen was not an artist, but he was a man fit to command every artist. He was possessed of courage, penetration, sagacity, and all the advantages which constitute the personal superiority of one man to another. As a warrior and statesman, he was the reverse of those ingenious but feeble performers, of whom each professes a particular part in the science or practice of human affairs, but of whom none is qualified to direct the whole.

In proportion, however, as this nation of masters forced into their service the industrious and the learned in different parts of the earth, the practitioners of every art, and the professsors of every science, flocked to the capital. Their productions, though spurned and rejected at first, were received by degrees, and in the reign of Augustus found the most

ample rewards. By these means, the practice of every art was introduced at Rome; even Romans themselves were taught to become artists and mechanics, and, by following a multiplicity of inferior pursuits and occupations, were taught to let down the haughty spirit of the conquerors of the world to the level of the nations they had conquered.

In the times immediately preceding the civil wars, foreign letters, though fondly received by many of the first citizens of Rome, were still a novelty, and considered by the People as a foppish affectation. But the leaders in this fashion being the first officers and greatest men of the State, as Lucullus, Cicero, Cato, and Cæsar; such illustrious examples soon removed every prejudice, and engaged, in the pursuit of learning, every talent that could be diverted from the more violent pursuits of ambition or pleasure.

The civil wars, for some time, retarded the progress of letters; but, when brought to an end, left the public in possession of the bias it had received. Octavius himself having, in his youth, received this bias, was probably, in his patronage of the learned, more led by inclination, and less by mere policy, than he was in other parts of the conduct with which he gained the favourable opinion of the world. He loved correctness and accuracy in all his compositions, and never delivered his mind on any serious matter, even in his own family, without memorials or written notes.

Although the effects of this reign, therefore, in many of the particulars we have mentioned, were the sequel of mere peace, and of the respite which the

world began to enjoy from the disorders with which it had been lately afflicted, much likewise may be ascribed to the personal character of the prince. After the secure establishment of his power, his government began to be distinguished by appearances of moderation and justice, supported, in this part of his life, with a regular and ordinary tenor, which does not warrant any doubt of his sincerity, or any suspicion of intention to impose upon the world, a purpose different from that which he professed to have in view.

In his character of legislator, he generally submitted his intended acts to public inspection, encouraged persons of every condition to offer amendments, and, what is more difficult, sometimes adopted those which were offered to him *. In the exercise of the executive power, he took the assistance of a chosen council, with whom he deliberated on the ordinary measures of State. In accepting the honours which were paid to him, he checked instances of extreme servility, and acquitted himself with great liberality or moderation in using the powers, which the flattery of dying persons frequently gave him over their families and estates. He became the guardian, rather than the coheir, of the orphans, with whom he was joined in the father's will. Some he put in the immediate possession of the whole inheritance; others, while under age, he treated as his wards, and brought up with every advantage to the enjoyment of fortunes, which they often received with considerable additions, made either by his care, or by his bounty.

* Dio. Cass. lib. liii, c. 21.

But, what is of all other circumstances most peculiarly characteristic of this reign, was the judgment and address with which the Emperor repressed the licence of an army, to which he owed his own elevation; the artful policy by which he affected to restore some fragments of the civil government, which he himself had broken down, and the caution with which he retained the character and profession of a civil magistrate or of a citizen, while he governed as master. Joined to these, we may reckon the noble choice which he made of officers fit to be trusted in the different departments of the public service; the constancy with which he persevered in employing them, and the liberality with which he made them feel that the prosperity of his fortunes was their own. While he gave these indications of a great mind, and possessed these powerful supports of a prosperous life, he dispensed with much of the flattery that is paid to princes, and in conversation encouraged the manners of a free and equal society *.

How then are we to decide upon his character, marked by appearances of perfidy, cruelty, and even of cowardice, in some parts of his life; but in other parts of it, distinguished by moderation, munificence, steadiness, and clemency? Are we to suppose, what the Emperor Julian insinuates †, that Octavius received in the latter period of his life new lights from science, was become a new man, and that, by the lessons of Zeno, at an earlier period, this cameleon might have fixed his colour, and have been from the

* Dio, Cass. lib. lvi, c. 43. † Vid. Cæsars of Julian.

first, what he appeared to be in the last state of his fortunes, a real friend to mankind? The authority of Julian, no doubt, is highly respectable; but if a person in youth carry the marks of a bad disposition, and deliberately commit atrocious actions when his interest required them, we are still warranted to question the sincerity of his conversion, though in a different state of his interest, even the whole tenor of his life should change.

Octavius does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, those dispositions to benevolence or malice which are the great distinguishing principles of virtue and vice. He seems to have been indifferent to mankind; but desirous of consideration and power, as objects of interest to himself. His ruling passion was a desire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes; but having once effected his purpose, he had no other criminal dispositions to gratify: or, after he was sovereign, standing in awe of a free spirit which he durst not insult, he, either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is surprising that every one else does not prefer, the proper use of his power to the abuse of it.

Upon this principle, in a life so varied as that of Octavius, appearances of cruelty and of clemency, of caution and of enterprise, of violence and of moderation, may, without any intrinsical change of the actor, have equally found a place in the course of his actions. And in his person, we may read the same character of ambitious design, when he affected to join the Senate in restoring the republic, or when he

sword a warrant for the murder of those who were inclined to support that form of government; when he courted the protection of Cicero against Antony, or when he sacrificed the life of Cicero to the resentment of this enemy; when he made or broke off his treaties of marriage, and sought for aids to his ambition, even in the choice of his licentious amours; when he pardoned, and when he punished, those who were detected in designs against his own life.

If we state ourselves, therefore, as judges on the solemn appeal which Augustus on his deathbed made to the sense of the world, it is probable, that as he was in some degree able to redeem, in the administration of his sovereignty, the enormities which he had committed in obtaining it, we shall bestow upon him neither the epithets of reproach and of infamy, which he appears to have deserved in the early period of his life, nor those terms of encomium and praise, which he seems to have merited in the longer and more elevated parts of his reign. Neither the friend nor the enemy of mankind, he was, by his personal and interested ambition, the cause of harm and of good; but, upon the whole, if the history of the establishment made by him were to terminate with his own life; if the tranquillity of his reign be compared with the troubles of the preceding period; it will furnish to those who contend for the preference of despotical government, an occasion of triumph.

Justice and peace are at all times the great objects of attention and care to mankind; but the degree in which they can be obtained, and the means which may be employed to obtain them, are different in dif-

ferent circumstances; different on the supposition of small or extensive states, of poor or of rich nations; and, in some circumstances, they may no doubt be better obtained by the wisdom and discretion of a single person, than by any system of public councils or popular assemblies, which the people to be governed are themselves fit to compose. When this is the case, it is fortunate that single men are found, who, without any criminal desires, are willing to undertake the government of nations. A succession of such characters, indeed, is more than human nature, by any known rule of substitution, whether by inheritance or by election, can continue to furnish. It is well, in a series of ages, where the government of the world is committed to the discretion of an individual, if the good in any degree compensate the bad.

As Augustus had, to the last moments of his reign, affected to hold the sovereignty by a mere temporary appointment, he could not, in consistence with his own professions, therefore, either name a successor, or dispose of the empire as the inheritance of his family. At his death, some persons might hope to see the commonwealth restored; others might wish to see the late contest for dominion revived, and many questions might have arisen, that would have involved the empire in fresh trouble. These questions, however, with the projects or hopes which might be founded upon them, were in a great measure prevented, by the precaution which Livia had taken in having her son Tiberius, during the lifetime of the late Emperor, associated with him in the government.

When Augustus was seized with his last illness,

Tiberius, in the character of his associate in the empire, as has been mentioned, set out for the armies in Dalmatia; but he was overtaken on his way by a message from his mother, intimating the last symptoms of approaching death in her husband. Upon this intimation he returned to Nola, and arrived either before Augustus expired, or before his death was publicly known; and having given out, that, in a conference with that experienced prince, he had received his last instructions for the government of the empire*, he took hold of the reins the moment the other was supposed to have dropped them, assumed the usual imperial guards, and, by sending orders to all the provinces and military stations, took upon himself to continue the established model of government, without any cessation or interval whatever†.

This new Emperor, with a barbarous precaution to stifle competition, ordered Agrippa, the surviving grandson of Augustus, to be put to death, and took every other effectual measure to secure his own accession. At the same time, either in imitation of the cautious policy of the late Emperor, or in pursuance of that hypocrisy and dissimulation to which he himself had been long accustomed, and to which he was naturally inclined, he affected, in his correspondence with the Senate, to pay the utmost deference to their authority, and, in his letters, took care not to exceed the modest expressions or pretensions of a private citizen.

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* Sueton. in vit. Tiber. c. 21. † Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. 3,

Being Tribune of the People, he ventured only in this capacity, he said, to call upon the Senate to give their orders respecting the funeral of Augustus. For his own part, he had taken his place by the remains of the deceased, and in nothing else could take any public function upon him. The Senate, he continued, would be pleased to order the guards which might be necessary to preserve the peace, and they would take every other precaution for the regular performance of this solemn duty.

When the funeral was over, and the Senate was assembled for the opening of the will and memorials of the late Emperor, Tiberius delivered himself in a voice interrupted with sighs and tears: he observed, that a heavy burden, by the death of the only person who was able to bear it, had now devolved upon them all; that having himself been admitted to some share in the government, he had learned how arduous a task it was to be charged with the whole of it, and had learned to make a proper estimate of his own abilities *; but that in a State which could boast of so many illustrious men, they could not be limited in their choice, nor obliged to commit to any single person, what was sufficient to occupy the talents and virtues of many.

While he spoke to this purpose, and observed the aspect of his audience, frowning particularly upon those who gave any signs of assent, his known reputation for falsehood, the inconsistence of his actions with the professions which he now made, the mur-

* Varie disserebat de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia. TACIT.

der of Agrippa, and the military guard which attended his person, effectually preserved the members who were present from becoming the dupes of a dissimulation, which it was equally dangerous to reject too abruptly, or to mistake for sincerity.

Most of the members, though sufficiently trained in the school of Augustus, to know the part they were to act on such an occasion, had not yet performed this part upon any such dangerous ground as the present. They affected to believe that Tiberius was sincere, lamented that there should be any reluctance to accept of the government in the only person who was qualified to undertake it, and they beseeched him not to desert the republic in this extremity.

As the Senators vied with each other in these feigned importunities, Tiberius seemed to be distressed, though not persuaded; and after he had remained some time undecided, in the end, as weary and silenced, though not convinced, he withdrew without making any reply, or without waiting for any formal resolution of the Senate. In passing through the crowd, he was heard to say, "That a heavy load "indeed had been laid on his shoulders, but that it "could not be expected he was to bear it for ever; "that old age at least must soon entitle him to a re- "spite." At the same time, those who were supposed to be most in his confidence, gave out, that his concern for the public, and the entreaties of the Senate, had prevailed upon him to accept of the government; but the ridicule, which it was not permitted the Senators to observe, was seized by the populace.

"Few men," it was said, "can perform all that they "undertake; but this man, with a wonderful modes- "ty, refuses to undertake even what he performs*."

While Tiberius, with so much palpable and even unnecessary craft, acted this farce in the Senate, his title to the sovereignty underwent a more serious discussion in the provinces. The legions which were posted in different stations, though long confined, under the authority of an able reign, to the strictest duties and ordinary advantages of their profession, still retained the impression of their own importance, and of their power to dispose of the empire. They recollected what some of them might have seen, and all of them had heard, of times in which they were courted by their leaders, retained with presents or gratuities, and rewarded, at the expiration of their service, with grants of land, and settlements in the richest and most cultivated districts of Italy. They had waited with impatience for an opportunity to give a new master to the world, and hoped that, in performing this service, they might recover their consequence, and be entitled to rewards, such as their predecessors in the service had formerly received.

It cannot be doubted, that if there had been any officer at the head of the principal armies on the Rhine or the Danube, prepared to avail himself of this disposition of the legions, the sword, in the present as in many other instances, must have decided who was to succeed in the throne of Cæsar; but Augustus having, in the choice of provincial and mili-

* Sueton. in Tiber. c. 24. Dio. Cass. lib. lvii, c. 1.

tary commanders, guarded against any danger to his own governments, had by the same means provided for the security of his successors. The persons he employed, besides those of his own family, who depended entirely upon himself, were, for the most part, men of moderate ambition or mean pretensions; so that there was not now any person of rank prepared to take part in the revolts of the army.

Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, might, by his popularity and by his pretensions, have become a formidable rival to his uncle, but was restrained by his own moderation and the sense of his duty. A mutinous spirit nevertheless broke out, first in Panonia, where three legions were commanded by Junius Blæsus; and afterwards on the Rhine, where a great division of the Roman armies, consisting of eight legions, were distributed in different stations, under the chief command of Germanicus himself.

The troops, not having at any of their stations persons who were qualified to direct their discontents against the succession of Tiberius, clamoured only for an augmentation of pay, and an earlier discharge from the service, than, by the regulations of the former reign, they were allowed to expect. "Doomed," they said, "to drag out a life of hard service for "thirty or forty years, and at the end of this term, "as their reward, to be banished to some barren "mountain or sickly morass, which, under the name "of a settlement or grant of land, they were required "to cultivate or to drain, it was time that some re-"gard should be paid to their merits, some relief

"provided for their sufferings." They contrasted their own condition, for ever stationed in the presence of ferocious enemies, and subsisting on ten Asses a day, with that of the Prætorian bands, having double their pay, and placed at ease amidst all the comforts and pleasures of the capital.

Excited by these considerations, the legions in Panonia refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new Emperor, until their grievances should be redressed. They secured their colours, set at liberty all those who were confined for any military crime, and ceased to obey their officers, or to pay any regard to the ordinary duties and forms of the service.

Tiberius, though greatly alarmed, and sensible that this attack on his authority only needed a fit leader, at the head of a few legions, to reach him in the capital, and to supplant him in the empire, disguised his apprehensions, and proposing to soothe the discontents of the army, deputed to their quarters his own son Drusus, accompanied by Ælius Sejanus, a young man, who, together with his father, of the same name, was associated in the command of the Prætorian bands.

These young men, in the capacity of commissioners, attended by many persons of rank and consideration from the city, escorted by two cohorts of chosen men, together with the greater part of the Prætorian cavalry and the German horse, which usually attended the person of the Emperor, set out on their mission. They were furnished with a letter, to be read at the head of the troops; but were empowered, without any specific instructions, to take such

measures as the occasion might suggest. Having effected their march into Panonia, and approaching the station of the mutinous legions, they were received in the front of the camp by the whole body but with an aspect rather of contumacy, than of respect or of duty.

The son of the Emperor was conducted to the platform, from which it was usual for the troops to receive the commands, and to hear the addresses, of their general. Having with some difficulty procured silence, he produced the letter which he had brought from his father, and which he had in charge to be communicated to the legions.

In this letter, Tiberius endeavoured to flatter and to soothe the discontents of the army; but, to avoid committing himself too far, spoke of his own intentions in general and ambiguous terms. "He might "assure these brave legions," he said, "with whom "he himself had so often acted, that they were the "principal objects of his care; that as soon as he "should recover the possession of his mind from his "present affliction, he should move the Senate to "take their just pretensions under consideration; "that, in the meanwhile, he had sent his son, in "order, without loss of time, to accommodate them "in every thing that depended on himself; that many "things must be referred to the Senate, a wise and "experienced council, who were not likely to with-"hold the proper indulgence from those who remain-"ed in the discharge of their duty, nor to fail in the "necessary rigour to those who ventured to depart "from it."

After this letter was read, a centurion, who had undertaken to answer for the legions, made a demand in their name, that their pay should be sixteen Asses a-day instead of ten, and that they should be entitled to their discharge at the end of sixteen years, without being obliged, in the usual way, after they were supposed disqualified for the ordinary fatigues of the service, still to remain with their colours.

To these demands, Drusus declined giving any answer. "The matter should be reported to his father," he said, "and referred to the Senate." Upon this reply a general clamour arose: "Wherefore was "he come, if not intrusted to relieve the army? He "had no powers to relieve; but he had unlimited "powers to distress and to punish. So the father himself was accustomed to serve them, while he came "to elude the prayers of the soldiers, by referring "for an answer to some one else, who was at a distance. Are we never," they said, "to see the face "of the Emperor? Is he to punish at discretion, but "never to reward without consent of the Senate? "Our rewards, it seems, are to be carefully weighed "and considered; but our fatigues and our punishments are to be dealt without balance or measure."

In this disposition the assembly broke up, and the soldiers went roving about in disorderly parties, insulting their officers, and affecting to treat the authority of the Emperor himself with contempt. Their presumption, however, was suddenly checked at night, by an eclipse which took place in the moon, and which, in their superstitious way of interpreting natural appearances, formed an emblem of their own situation, and by its event was to prognosticate the

sequel of their present attempts. Their despondence, during the progress of the eclipse, kept pace with the diminution of the moon's light; and as, at the time of the greatest obscuration, the sky itself was overcast with clouds, and every visible appearance suppressed in the total darkness of a stormy night, they received this event as a supernatural presage of their own fate, and in despair retired to their tents. They were soon afterwards persuaded to restore the colours which they had removed from their place; and, in order to avert the evils with which they were threatened, to make seasonable offers of submission to the Prince.

It was therefore thought proper, that Drusus should instantly avail himself of this favourable change, and, as much as possible, facilitate the return of the troops to their duty. For this purpose, he called them again to the place of audience, treated their mutiny as a transient fit of ill-humour which was past, and gave them to understand, that although he was not to be awed by their threats, he was moved by their dutiful and submissive behaviour; that he should dispatch an officer with their requests to the Emperor, and should join his own entreaties to procure them immediate attention, and to obtain every favour that might be consistent with the order of the service.

After the departure of this messenger, the expectations of the legions were fixed entirely upon the answer to be given by the Emperor, and on the effect of the young Cæsar's interposition in their favours. In the meantime, the officers having resu-

med their command, and being obeyed in all the ordinary duties and forms of the camp, proposed to exert their authority in stifling the remains of a mutinous spirit, which had so far subsided. They accordingly gave orders to seize, and to punish the principal authors of the late disorders.

Under this exertion of power, the troops became as tame and submissive, as they had lately been refractory and ferocious. To signalize their zeal, some of the most guilty became the informers and instruments of justice against their own accomplices; and the humour from which this revolt proceeded having sunk, as it rose, without any rational plan, the mutiny appeared to be so entirely suppressed, and the discipline of the legions so effectually restored, that Drusus, with his company, and the escort which attended them, departed for Italy, without waiting for the return of the officer he had dispatched to the Emperor *.

These disorders, however, were not peculiar to the troops in Panonia; they broke out with more violence, and a more dangerous tendency, among those of the German frontier. On this side, eight legions were placed at two separate stations; one division under Cecina, on the borders of the Low Countries; the other under Caius Silius, on the Upper Rhine, both under the orders of Germanicus, who being adopted into the family of Cæsar, had been vested by Augustus with the command of these armies, and with the presidency of Gaul. This young man had

* Tacit. Annal. lib. i. c. 30.

married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and of Julia Augusta, by whom he had a numerous issue, a circumstance generally attended with great popular favour among the Romans. He was now attended in his province by his wife Agrippina, with Caius, afterwards better known by the name of Caligula, the youngest of his three sons, now carried in the arms of the mother. He himself being extremely acceptable to the army, and to the people of the provinces, it was not doubted, that if the empire were to be disposed of, he would have had the wishes of mankind in his favour; and he became upon this account a principal object of jealousy to his adoptive father, now in possession of the throne.

The troops which were stationed on the borders of the Low Countries under Cecina, comprehended the legions which had been hastily levied, and which, without the usual selection, had been formed, to replace the army that perished with Varus in his unfortunate expedition beyond the Rhine. Being in a great measure composed of emancipated slaves, and other persons of mean condition, they had not yet imbibed the sentiments of national and military honour, which Augustus endeavoured to preserve or inspire in the legions. They considered themselves, at the death of that Emperor, as discharged from their military oath. They rose against their officers, killed most of the Centurions, and forced Cecina, who commanded, with all the legionary Tribunes, to withdraw from their rage.

The authors of this revolt probably flattered themselves that Germanicus, although he did not at first

openly countenance their mutiny, might however give way to their desires, and suffer himself to be elevated by their means to the throne of Cæsar. To preserve the appearances of order, until they should receive his commands, they appointed officers to act in place of those they had killed, performed most of the usual military duties, mounted the ordinary guards, and, as in the presence of an enemy, took the stated precautions for the safety and peace of their camp.

Germanicus, when the accounts of this alarming transaction were brought to him, was occupied in affairs of the province, and in administering the oath of allegiance on the accession of Tiberius. Sensible that his own high pretensions exposed him to be suspected of having encouraged these disorders, he repaired without delay to the station from which Cecina had been forced to withdraw. Upon his approach, he was met by the legions; but instead of the respectful silence that was usual in receiving their commander in chief, was saluted with cries of discontent, and a mixture of expostulation and insult. He was followed by a multitude, in the utmost confusion, to that part of the camp at which it was usual to harangue the army. That he might observe the different parts of his audience, or, in case any insult were offered, that he might distinguish the division from whence it came, he gave the signal for the whole to draw up in their legions and cohorts, and to display their colours.

So long as he spoke of the veneration due to the memory of Augustus, and of the glories acquired by the present Emperor himself at the head of these

very legions, he was heard with respect and attention; but when he touched on their want of duty, his voice could no longer be heard, and the whole presence was thrown into tumult. Some uncovered their scars, and called for the rewards that were due to their services; others complained of the scantiness of their pay, of their toilsome marches, of their hard labour, in forming intrenchments, and in rearing magazines of wood and of forage. "We have fol-"lowed our colours," said some of the veterans, "above thirty years: Is death the only termination "to be hoped for our labours?" They called for the legacy, which they heard was bequeathed to them by Augustus: they invited the Prince to declare himself sovereign of the empire, and offered to support his pretensions with their swords.

On this proposal, Germanicus, as if seized with horror, came down from the platform on which he stood, and was hastening to retire, when numbers interposed to stop him. "My duty to the Emperor," he said, "is more precious to me than my life;" and at these words, drawing his sword, he turned the point of it towards his own breast. Some of those who were near, laid hold of his arm; others called out, *Let him strike;* and one, in particular, reaching his sword, said, *Take this; it is sharper than your own.*

It is not to be questioned, that Germanicus might have led this army into Italy, and with a general consent placed himself at the head of the empire; but he seems to have apprehended the rights of succession in the present Emperor, with all the com-

mendable respect and fidelity which accompany the sentiments of loyalty and duty, under monarchies wisely established. Being desirous to withdraw from the tumult, and a way being made for him by the officers of his train, he retired to deliberate on the present alarming state of affairs.

The leaders of this mutiny were about to open a correspondence with the legions on the Upper Rhine. The enemy were in sight on the opposite banks of the river, and ready to take advantage of these distractions. Some of the officers present gave it as their opinion, that an army should be formed from the provincial cohorts to overawe the legions; but this was rejected by others, as likely to end in a civil war. Severity, it was observed by some, might exasperate; concession, it was said by others, might breed insolence; and the service was equally exposed to suffer, whether the troops were indulged in all their demands, or in none. It was suggested at last, that by a little artifice, without committing the authority of the Emperor, the demands of the army might be satisfied. For this purpose, it was proposed that a letter should be feigned, as from Tiberius, so dated, that in writing it he could not be supposed to know of the disorder which now took place; that in this letter, he should be personated as declaring, by a voluntary act of goodness, his intention to double the legacy bequeathed by Augustus; to fix the entire period of service at twenty years, and that of the ordinary duties at sixteen *.

* A Roman soldier, after a certain period of service, was retained at his colours to encounter the enemy, though exempted from the ordinary guard and other duties of the camp.

A letter to this purpose being accordingly produced, the artifice was suspected; but the terms were accepted, on condition that the legacies were instantly paid, that those who had served twenty years should be discharged, and those who had served sixteen years should be exempted, as veterans, from the common legionary forms. Many were accordingly discharged; and the more clamorous were paid up their share of the legacy, with such money as could be collected among the attendants of the Prince. Others were persuaded to suffer a delay of payment, until they should come into quarters for the winter.

From this station, Germanicus repaired to that of the Upper Rhine, where, with less trouble, and by means of the same gratuities, he prevailed on the legions of that division to withdraw into quarters. A mutiny of the troops on the Weser had broke out at the same time; but was suppressed by the courage and ability of the officer at their head.

It appears, that Tiberius, on hearing of these mutinies on the Rhine and the Weser, had recourse to the Senate, and wished to avail himself of their authority in restoring the discipline of the army. He probably meant, in the name of this body, to inflict the necessary severities, while he reserved to himself the more popular office of granting indulgences, or of making some gracious concessions.

A committee of the Senate, of whom one Munatius Plancus is mentioned as the head, was accordingly sent to the quarters of the army, and arrived

at the *Ara Ubiorum**, where Germanicus, with two legions, after quieting the late mutiny, was retired for the winter. As soon as it was known that deputies were arrived from the Senate, to take cognisance of the state of the army, the soldiers apprehended that the late agreement was to be set aside; that the indulgences granted to them were to be recalled, and that something ungracious was intended, which the Emperor chose to execute in some other name than his own; for so the arts, by which the empire had been governed near fifty years, now began to be understood. In this persuasion, the soldiers, in a riotous manner, assembled round the quarters of their general; and, as a signal that they were not any longer to respect his authority, they tore the imperial standard from thence; and to deter civil officers, for the future, from interposing in their affairs, meant to have murdered Munatius Plancus, and the other deputies of the Senate. These officers, however, took refuge at the colours of one of the legions, where, according to the practice of the Roman army, they had the protection of a sanctuary, and by this means escaped from the fury which was now so active against them.

Germanicus being still accompanied in his quarters by his wife Agrippina and her infant son, the youngest of his children, and apprehending that they could not be safe in this place of disorder, determined to remove them to some other station, where the troops, remaining in their duty, were likely to afford them

* In the Bishopric of Cologne.

protection. At their departure, the soldiers, seeing the wife and the infant child of their favourite leader, followed by a numerous train of female attendants, fly from their camp, as from a place in which no respect was to be paid to sex, age, or rank, were struck with the effect of their own violence. Some crowded in the way of this melancholy train, and endeavoured to detain them; while others ran to the husband, and beseeched him to spare the legions so cruel a reproach, as was implied in his supposing that the wife of Germanicus, the daughter of Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of Cæsar, with her infant child, were obliged to fly for safety from their quarters.

The Prince, observing the disposition of the soldiers to relent, seized the opportunity of regaining his authority; and, making it a condition that they themselves should return to their duty, complied with their request.

In the first moment of zeal to signalize their affection, multitudes, without knowing the cause of the change, passed with the impetuosity of popular tumults, by a rapid transition, from one extreme to the other; called out for justice on those who had been leaders in the late mutiny; and themselves became willing instruments in punishing such as were pointed out to them as authors of a guilt, in which the whole had been concerned. Germanicus, and the principal officers, withdrew from the scene, leaving a Centurion on the platform, to preside in this extraordinary course of justice. Such prisoners as were brought to him, were hoisted up into view,

and upon the verdict of the multitude, to spare or to punish, were released, or thrown down from the platform, and suffered immediate death from the hands of their fellow-soldiers.

The same disorders had broken out, and still subsisted, at Vetera *, the station of the fifth and twenty-first legions. but Germanicus being now in condition to enforce his authority, advanced at the head of a powerful army, sent his instructions to Cecina, who was present with the mutinous troops, requiring that they should, of their own accord, bring the guilty to justice: and intimating, that if this were not done before his arrival, he was determined, without distinction of persons, to put the whole to the sword.

On this intimation, a considerable number of the soldiers entered into a concert for executing the vengeance required of them, and, at a time appointed, began the slaughter of those who were most forward in the mutiny. As the camp was soon thrown into confusion, it became impossible to make any distinction of persons, and the massacre extended to all those who crowded in the way, and who were not apprized of the design. Germanicus, at his arrival, found the tents stained with blood, the passages strewed with heaps of the slain, and all the appearances of a camp surprised by an enemy, or of an army put to the sword. Those who remained, affected for the present to pay respect to the authority of their leaders; but had shewn themselves ca-

* Nearly opposite to Cleves.

pable of the greatest extremities against their officers, as well as against their fellow-soldiers.

These were the principal difficulties which Tiberius encountered in effecting his succession: he had other alarms in the commencement of his reign, but of inferior moment. Such were the troubles occasioned by the imposture of one Clemens, who had been a slave in the service of the posthumous Agrippa; and by the conspiracy of Scribonius Libo, who, being encouraged by his affinity to persons of the highest name in the republic, had formed some visionary design on the empire.

Clemens, upon the death of the late Emperor, had gone to the place at which his master the posthumous Agrippa was detained in exile, meant to have conducted him to one of the armies in Gaul, where he made no doubt that the son of Agrippa, and the lineal descendant of Cæsar, would have found a favourable reception; but his design being prevented by the death of this unfortunate young man, he formed a project still more wild and romantic, founded on some resemblance which he himself bore to his deceased master. Thus qualified, he took his name, and proposed to personate him. Pretending to have escaped from the cruelty of the usurper Tiberius, he frequently changed his place, and affected concealment; but artfully suffered himself to be seen by those who were likely to be imposed upon, or inclined to afford him protection or support. He was accordingly favoured by many persons of consequence, who were either deceived, or willing to countenance any attempt that was made to disturb

the present succession. Among his supposed abettors, however, he had unfortunately one person employed by the Emperor himself, with instructions to seduce and to circumvent him. By this emissary, affecting to believe his story, and to aid him in asserting his pretensions to the throne, he was delivered over into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death by order of Tiberius, who, it is said, had the barbarous curiosity to visit him, and to satisfy himself as to his likeness to Agrippa, before he was executed.

The Emperor was soon after rather amused than alarmed, by the informations he received of the practices of Scribonius Libo, his other competitor for the throne of Cæsar. This young man being, by his mother, the grandson of Pompey, and, by his father, the nephew of Scribonia, who was the first wife of Augustus, was consequently the cousin of Julia, and of her children. His affinity to the sovereigns of the world, inspired him with thoughts and expectations above the condition of a subject, and laid him open to the arts of false and designing men, whom the fashion of the times encouraged with the prospect of impunity, and even of rewards.

Such men, affecting zeal for the safety of the Emperor, enticed the unwary to engage themselves in some treasonable practice, and, when so involved, took the merit of informing against them. In this odious character, a Senator of the name of Firmius Catus, in order to practise upon the weakness of Libo, procured him an intercourse with professed magicians, astrologers, and interpreters of dreams, who

flattered him with the hopes of empire; and after he was engaged in this idle or criminal correspondence, contrived, by means of one Flaccus Vesculanius, who frequented the court, to give secret information of a dangerous conspiracy.

Tiberius, employing all his artifice against this feeble antagonist, refused to see the informer, but directed him to continue his vigilance, and to report his discoveries by the same channel: As if vileness were the natural concomitant of cruelty, while the Emperor himself concurred in the snare which was laid for this unhappy young man, he raised him to the dignity of Prætor, treated him, at the feasts and entertainments of the palace, with uncommon marks of distinction, and took the malicious pleasure of observing how far these flatteries, joined to the hopes of empire which arose from the pretended revelations of futurity, contributed to swell his presumption.

In the meantime, and possibly before the design of the Emperor, or his confidant, was ripe for execution, Fulcinius Trio, another professional spy, having intimation of the matter from one of the astrologers who had been consulted by Libo, and proposing to snatch the prey from the original informer, or to have a preferable claim to the reward, carried his discovery directly before the Senate itself; but the Emperor being present when this information was lodged, with a wretched affectation of justice to the first informer, revealed what was already known, and, with an odious accuracy, enumerated the piteous follies of which Libo had been guilty. The Senators, pretending to be alarmed at such a treason, vied

with each other in expressions of abhorrence; and many of them contended for the honour of being allowed to conduct the prosecution which was to be formed against so heinous a crime.

The slaves of the accused, agreeably to a late innovation in the law, were transferred in property to the Emperor, that they might be received, and put to the question, in evidence against their former master.

Libo had the first intimation of what was passing, by the arrival of armed men, who, with orders to seize his person, broke into his house. Terrified by this appearance, he pleaded for mercy; or, if this could not be obtained, implored that one of his own servants might be allowed to put an end to his life; and being disappointed in both these requests, he took poison or wounded himself, and was actually in the agonies of death, when, according to Dion Cassius, he was, in order to obtain the confiscation of his estate, carried before the Senate to receive a formal sentence. By the decree which was given, the name and family of Libo were consigned to infamy; and the astrologers, his accomplices, were expelled from Italy, or put to death.

The Emperor, when this sentence was given, affected regret for the unhappy young man; complained of his precipitancy in preventing, by a rash act of despair, the effects of mercy, and professed an intention to have spared his life.

From the time at which the mutinies on the Rhine and Danube were suppressed, and from the conclusion of this formal proceeding against Scribonius, as

a traitor to the lawful sovereign of the empire, we may date the accession of Tiberius to the throne of Cæsar. He was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; is described in his person as tall, robust, and healthy; erect in his walk; of a fair complexion, handsome countenance, large eye, but frowning; of few words, and slow of utterance; without any action or gesticulation while he spoke, besides a kind of involuntary and ungraceful play with his fingers. His manner, notwithstanding his figure, was so ungracious, that Augustus, in recommending him to public favour, thought proper to make an apology for this defect in his appearance; observing, that his forbidding looks were but accidents in the outward form of his person, not expressions of vice in his temper *. In his youth, he was addicted to debauchery; but as he advanced to manhood, being in awe of the Emperor, he learned in many things to disguise his inclinations, and acquired a habit of reserve or hypocrisy.

Augustus on all occasions seemed to receive Tiberius with some degree of repugnance; so that when he came into company, the Emperor, if engaged in any pleasurable conversation, changed the subject, and altered his countenance. Though in some degree reconciled to him, or obliged from necessity to employ him in the conduct of his affairs, and though observed sometimes to speak of him even in terms of regard and confidence, yet he gave more frequently, with respect to him, signs of aversion and dis-

* Sueton. in Tiber. c. 21, et Tacit. Annal. lib. i.

trust; and it is not unlikely that he fluctuated to the last in his purpose concerning him. Determined, however, by the influence and intrigues of Livia, or by the relation subsisting between them, he left him in possession of the empire, which he had long intended for persons more nearly related in blood, and more in his favour: but whatever were the motives of his choice, such was the belief of a deliberate and selfish design in all the actions of Augustus, that he was by many supposed to have made choice of Tiberius, merely that, in the comparison of characters, the preference might be given to himself, and the reign immediately following might be a foil to his own.

Before the events which have been mentioned had put Tiberius in full possession of the government, and while he yet affected to decline it, the Consuls, the Senate, and all the principal citizens at Rome, had taken the oath of submission and allegiance. The whole army and all the provinces soon after followed their example; and the world looked with anxious expectation for the full display of a character, hitherto, for the most part, wrapped up in reserve, and justly suspected of cruelty. Among the first discoveries which were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had mistaken his disposition, or rated too high her own ascendant over him. In procuring the empire to her son, she had joined to the zeal of a mother, a high degree of ambition, and a desire to emerge from a species of obscurity, in which she had lived in the reign of her husband. She flattered herself, that upon the acces-

sion of Tiberius, she was to possess a great part of the imperial power, or rather to exercise the whole in his name. Trusting to the deference which he hitherto affected for all her opinions, or to his gratitude for the high obligations she had conferred upon him, she instantly assumed all the consequence she expected to reap from his greatness, laid aside the caution and reserve which she had ever preserved under the reign of Augustus, advanced into public view, and as if she had taken possession of the empire for herself, under pretence of having bestowed it on her son, took a principal part in all matters of State, appearing on solemn occasions with her lictors, and all the other ensigns or formalities of a public station *.

The Senate, trusting to the mother's supposed knowledge of her son's inclinations, yielded to her in all the prerogatives she was pleased to assume, inserted her name with that of the Emperor in all public acts, and, in the titles of Tiberius, styled him the son of Augusta as well as of Cæsar. They were not, however, suffered long to remain in this error. They were told by the Emperor, with an alarming coldness of manner, which left no doubt of his sincerity, *That the ambition of women should not be suffered to exceed the proper bounds, and that he should always endeavour to prescribe such bounds to his own* †.

From the time in which this declaration was made by the Emperor, it appears that Livia, at no loss to

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvii, c. 12. Ibid. lib. lvi. fine.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. 14.

to interpret his meaning, entirely dropt her pretensions to any part in the government, and became no less reserved in the reign of her son, than she had been in that of her husband.

As Augustus, in assuming the sovereignty, and in the whole of his reign was kept in awe by the republican spirit, which he supposed still to lurk with a dangerous violence in the minds of the People; so Tiberius, to the affectation of treading in the steps of his predecessor, joined a great measure of distrust in the dispositions of the People towards himself in particular, and in their predilection for others, who might be supposed more worthy to reign. Among these, he looked upon Germanicus as the first or principal object of his jealousy. He had adopted this young man, merely in compliance with the late Emperor's will, and considered him not only, as he was become by this act of adoption, prior to his own son in the order of succession to the empire, but, as he was, by the predilection of the People, by the attachment of the army, and the high pretensions of his wife Agrippina, a most dangerous rival to himself. He could not forgive a person to whom the legions on the Rhine had made offers of the empire; and who, for having declined the offer, was deemed the more worthy to receive it. Although he endeavoured, under professions of the highest regard, to dissemble his feelings, and although, in making his report to the Senate of the disorders which had lately taken place in the army, he spoke of the conduct of both his sons, Germanicus and Drusus, with equal tenderness and applause; he had nevertheless suffer-

ed the retainers of court to see through this disguise, encouraged them to charge Germanicus with want of capacity or courage in resisting the mutiny, and had taken his own resolution to remove him from a situation in which his popularity, the ambition of Agrippina, or the presumption of the troops under his command, might, in a moment, engage him in some dangerous design on the empire.

Upon these motives, therefore, it was proposed to remove Germanicus from the German station, and from the command of troops by whom he was beloved, to the command of an army inferior in point of character, and to which he was less known, or less an object of favour.

While this resolution was taken at Rome, Germanicus, after the suppression of the late mutinies, that he might not allow the soldiers to brood over their grievances, that they might not have leisure to renew their complaints, or be suffered to languish for want of employment, projected an expedition beyond the Rhine, and passed this river with twelve thousand men of the legions, twenty cohorts of the provinces, and eight alæ, or regiments of horse. By this sudden irruption, made before it was known that his troops were willing to obey him, he surprised a great body of barbarians, assembled to take advantage of the disorder which they supposed to subsist in the Roman army, dispersed them with great slaughter, continued his march to the famous ground on which Varus had been cut off with his legions; and finding the field still covered with the bones of the slain, gave directions to have them collected and

interred. In this pious office, the prince himself mixed with the private men, and put his hand to the work; a circumstance which, when reported at Rome, considerably increased the jealousy of the Emperor. From thence, he proposed to invade the territory of Arminius, and to punish that barbarian for his treachery to those unfortunate legions. In execution of this design, being provided with a thousand vessels, he embarked on the Ems, fell down this river to a considerable distance, and, having landed on its eastern banks, and overrun the country from thence to the Weser, in his encounter with the natives of that district obtained two considerable victories.

After these operations, Germanicus again returned to his ships in the Ems, and continued his navigation to the sea. Supposing that the mouth of the Rhine must be contiguous to that of the Ems, he proposed, by a short voyage on the coast, to pass from the one to the other, and, without exposing himself to be harassed in a march by land, thus to recover his former station on the frontier of Gaul. On this stormy coast, however, having met with difficulties with which neither his vessels nor his mariners were fit to contend, his fleet was dispersed; many of his ships were cast away on the continent, others wrecked on the contiguous islands, and some drove quite into Britain. He himself got on shore on the coast which is now called East Friezland, and saw with despair the apparent wreck of many vessels of his fleet, which seemed to be lost irrecoverably on the banks which were left by the sea at low-water. From this disaster, however, he recovered the great-

er part of his forces. The vessels which were nearest in company with his own, got afloat on the return of the flood, and the troops from on board of them were landed, without any considerable loss. By this escape of his army, he was still in condition to make head against the natives of the country, who, intending to profit by the losses he had recently sustained, were assembled on the Weser; but being surprised by his sudden re-appearance, they fled before him, and separated to their different quarters.

Germanicus, upon his return from this expedition, and while he was meditating a renewal of such operations on the following year, had intimation of the Emperor's intention to remove him from his station on the Rhine. This intimation was accompanied with a message, full of the most flattering commendation of his services. He was invited to Rome, under pretence of celebrating a triumph, which had been decreed to him for his late victories, and for the purpose of assuming the Consulate, to which he was destined in the approaching year, as colleague to the Emperor himself. As it was supposed, however, that, under an appearance of modesty, or reluctance to withdraw from a hazardous war, in which the troops he commanded were still engaged, he might decline accepting of a mere honorary invitation, it was subjoined to these reasons of recall, that the remains of glory, if there were still any to be reaped in that quarter, ought to be reserved for his brother Drusus, there being no other enemy now left from whom to collect *his laurels*.

An invitation to court, accompanied with the last of these considerations, though veiled under so many flattering pretences, was sufficiently understood to be a peremptory command; and this Germanicus accordingly obeyed. On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were sent from Rome to attend him. But every circumstance contributed to augment the jealousy of the Emperor; the greater part of the Prætorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the People, of every sex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord some miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy *. Having made his entry, as had been proposed, in triumph, he was, with the Emperor himself, put in nomination for the consulate of the following year.

The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be possessed in the city, was no less mortifying to his adoptive father, than his power in the army was supposed to be dangerous. His presence, if it did not obscure the lustre of the Emperor himself, actually placed him, as elder brother, in a continual state of precedence to Drusus, to whom the father was by nature attached; and the contending interest of these two princes, the one by adoption, the other by birth, the son of the Emperor, though supposed to be on the best terms with each other, had divided the court.

Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, inheriting the blood of Augustus, and ever carrying in her haughty looks the pretensions of the Cæsarian family, was

* Sueton. in vita Calig.

become to Livia, whom she considered as a stepmother, no less an object of animosity, than she was to the Emperor himself. Under these circumstances, the resolution to separate Germanicus from the German armies, and to place him in the command of the eastern provinces, a situation apparently honourable, but in which he should be surrounded with persons who might serve as a restraint, or as spies on his conduct, was now carried into execution. He was vested with a commission to restore the tranquillity of Asia, now said to be in a state of disturbance, occasioned by disputes which had arisen on the succession to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia.

Germanicus, in the end of the third year of the present reign, set out upon this apparently honourable commission. Having a supreme authority in the several provinces through which he was to pass, from the sea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he visited, as chief in command, the cities of Greece, still revered as the principal seminaries of philosophy and literature; and upon his entry into Asia, proceeded to execute the commission on which he was sent. He reduced Cappadocia and Commagené to the form of Roman provinces, making some abatement of the taxes formerly paid to their own princes*, and settled Zeno, son to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. He afterwards ventured to continue his progress into Egypt, though contrary to an edict of the late Emperor, which was still in force. On his return from thence, he was ta-

* Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, c. 65.

ken ill, and died at Antioch, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with some suspicions of having been poisoned by Cn. Piso, the Præfect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himself *.

It is not to be doubted, that the Emperor looked upon this favourite of the army and the People with great distrust, and might have sought for opportunities to sacrifice him to his own safety, or to that of his son Drusus; but it does not appear that he proceeded any further on this occasion, than to remove him from a situation in which he furnished the court with continual occasions of mortification or jealousy, into one that was equally splendid in appearance, but tending to lessen his consequence in the empire; and that he meant only to place him in the command of armies over whom he had no personal influence, and who, if disposed to revolt, were less to be feared than the more hardy legions which were formed on the Rhine and the Danube.

In sending Germanicus into Asia, great attention indeed had been paid to the choice of a person who should be placed immediately under him as governor of Syria, the province which contained in itself the principal resources of the East, and where it was thought proper to have a person likely, in every measure, to thwart and counteract this rival of the Emperor, rather than to become subservient to his ambition, or to promote his greatness. This intention was rendered extremely evident by the removal of

* Sueton. in vita Calig. c. 1

Creticus Silanus, with whom Germanicus was about to contract an alliance by the intermarriage of two of their children, in order to make way for Piso, a man already unacceptable to Germanicus, and, in general, distinguished by a temper harsh or intractable, and likely to disagree with every superior whatever.

It is likewise extremely probable, that Piso, as well as his wife Plancina, might have learned by their own penetration, that Germanicus and Agrippina had incurred the displeasure of Tiberius and Livia; and that these, though immediate relations of the imperial family, would not, in case of a disagreement with the provincial officers who stood in their way, receive any cordial support at the court of the Emperor.

Some early effects of an insolence, founded upon this supposition, appeared in the behaviour of Piso and Plancina. While Germanicus was yet on his route into Asia, Piso, having overtaken the prince, and passing him without the customary marks of respect or attention, from thenceforward seemed to set him at defiance. At their first interview in Syria, both were extremely guarded, but shewed no signs of cordiality or confidence. Piso afterwards endeavoured to pre-occupy the affections of the army in opposition to Germanicus; and had the boldness to march, in contempt of his orders, with a body of troops, into Armenia. When the Prince was taken ill, it was said, that Piso had spies to observe the progress of his disease, and seemed to await the event, as likely to place himself at the head of all the forces in Asia. Germanicus having recovered from his first

fit of illness, had the conduct of Piso represented to him in such terms, as led him to command his attendance, when he declared open enmity against him, and dismissed him the province. But, as the Prince soon afterwards relapsed, he accused Piso of having practised against his life, and charged all his friends, who were present at his death, to bring the author of it to a severe and just retribution.

Piso, hearing of the death of Germanicus while he yet lay on board of a ship on the coast of Asia, betrayed his animosity to the dead, by public and indecent demonstrations of joy. He afterwards attempted, by force, to reinstate himself in the government of Syria, from which he had been ordered by Germanicus to depart; but was repulsed by Sentius, who had been chosen by the officers of the Prince's train to keep possession of the province, until the pleasure of the Emperor should be known.

Upon this event, Piso sent forward his own son to Rome, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the aspersions which were likely to be propagated against him in the city. He himself passed by Illyricum, to pay his court to Drusus, who was then in that province, and to implore his protection. Being received by this Prince with coldness, though without any marked prepossession of his guilt, he from thence continued his voyage into Italy.

Agrippina, arriving soon after at Brundisium with the ashes of her deceased husband, was, by order of the Emperor, received by a great military escort, and the honours of war. She passed in a kind of funeral procession through multitudes that were collected

from every part of the country to gaze upon her: and coming to Rome sufficiently impressed with the idea that her husband was poisoned, called for revenge upon the supposed authors of his death. Numbers contended for the honour of carrying her complaints before the tribunals of justice, and of satiating her revenge on the murderers of her husband.

A prosecution soon after commenced against Piso; in which all that was known to be exceptionable in the preceding part of his life was stated against him by Fulcinius Trio, the person already mentioned as having exercised the trade of informer in the case of Libo. The charge of poisoning, and the other crimes imputed to Piso in his late command, was committed to Vitellius and Veranus, persons peculiarly attached to Germanicus. The trial having begun before the Emperor himself, was afterwards transferred to the Senate. Two days were allowed for the accusers to enforce their charge, and three for the accused to make his defence. The prosecutors brought sufficient evidence of Piso's arrogance and extortion; of much undutiful behaviour to Germanicus himself in Asia; of disobeying his orders; of having made war beyond the limits of his own province; but no sufficient evidence of his having made any attempts, by poison, on the life of the Prince. The charge, indeed, as stated or laid, was extremely incredible, that Piso should, at the table of Germanicus, and in the midst of servants, attendants, and friends, venture to mix poison in a dish from which numbers were to eat. To render this imputation still more improbable, it was observed, that the dead body had been exposed to

public view in the market-place at Antioch, and that no external marks or indications of poison were found.

The principal evidence produced of any criminal practice against the Prince's life, consisted of a collection of human bones, some verses, pieces of lead marked with the name of Germanicus, and other supposed philters or charms, which were found in his quarters, and which were considered as implements of sorcery, employed against the life of the person whose name was inscribed, and against whom they were supposed to take a mysterious effect, if the poison should fail.

The charge of murder, therefore, supported by such evidence only, will appear to the modern reader entirely groundless, and must have been rejected, even by the tribunal to which it was referred; but the accused, seeing that the torrent ran high against him, and probably to prevent the consequences of a formal sentence to effect the confiscation of his family-estate, cut short the proceedings by a voluntary death; or, as was supposed by many, was secretly put to death by an order from the court, lest his public confession should appear to involve the Emperor himself in the guilt.

On either supposition, the death of Piso being considered as an act of self-condemnation, or as a precaution in Tiberius to prevent a discovery, confirmed the People in their suspicion, that one or both were concerned in the murder of the favourite Prince.

CHAP. XLI.

Review of the first period in the reign of Tiberius.—Applications of penal law.—Disposition of Tiberius to a recluse life. Place and character of Sejanus.—Death of Drusus, son of the Emperor.—Retirement of Tiberius to the island of Capreæ.—Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her children.—Death of Livia Augusta.—Design formed against Sejanus.—His death.—Prosecution of his supposed accomplices.—Artifices—old age—and death of Tiberius.

The death of Germanicus is considered by historians as a remarkable epoch in the present reign *. Before this event, Tiberius, as if conscious that he held the empire by his good behaviour, was popular in his manners, and guarded in his administration; declined the extravagant honours which were offered to him; was easy of access; affected to live like a private citizen; returned visits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feasts; visited the sick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praise of the dead †. He treated the titular magistrates of Rome with the same ceremonious respect that used to be observed in times of the republic; rose, and stood, in the presence of the Consul; took his place in the Senate as a private member; was frequently seen in the courts of

* Dio. Cass. lib. lvii, c. 18. † Ibid

justice as an assessor, as an advocate, as an evidence or as a spectator. To a person who saluted him with the title of *Master*, "Insult me not," he said, "with "that odious appellation. I am the master of my "slaves, general of the army, and no more than "Prince, or first in the rolls of the Senate and Peo- "ple." He took the title of Augustus only in his correspondence with foreign powers. In all his addresses, whether to particular members of the Senate, or to this body at large, he was in the highest degree respectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with respect and regret. To a Senator, named Haterius, on some such occasion, he said, "I "hope you will forgive me, if, in my duty as a Se- "nator, I differ from you somewhat too freely." At a meeting of the Senate, in referring some matter to their decision, he concluded with these words: "I have formerly said, and now say, that it becomes "the person you have intrusted with so large a share "of the public affairs, to consider himself as the ser- "vant of this assembly, as the servant of the People, "and of every individual; nor do I repent me of this "saying; for I have found you, and still find you, "candid, indulgent, and kind masters*." He affected a continual deference to their judgment on every subject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correspondence, even seemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be displeased when officers, employed in

* Sueton. in Tiber. c. 29.

the provinces, made their report directly to himself, without communicating the subject of their dispatches first to the Senate.

With these popular arts, which the Senators indeed did not mistake for a real acknowledgment of their own authority, he joined an administration in many things worthy of a wise and exemplary Prince; indulged the People in the freedom of speech to which they had been accustomed, saying, "That, in "a free country, the mind and the tongue should be "free." To those who brought him information of any slander spoken of himself, he affected indifference. "If you mind such accusations as these," he would say, "there will be no end of them." He gave a ready hearing and redress to all the complaints which were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of established and ordinary fees*. To persons suffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed Senators, to the children of those who had bequeathed their estates by will to himself, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual measures to suppress the banditti which, from the time of the civil wars, still infested the country; and endeavoured to diminish that constant source of corruption, the habit of idleness, which the People acquired in attending the too frequent repetition of shows and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of some taxes which had been imposed by the late Emperor, and, in particular, miti-

* Tacit. Annal lib. iv, c. 6—7.

gated the penalties which had been erroneously inflicted on celibacy.

Tiberius seemed to have perceived that the severities employed by his predecessor, to enforce marriage, served only to multiply the evils of the times, without administering any effectual remedy to that which was complained of. But what, in this enumeration of examples of his political conduct, would have done him most honour, had he continued to support it in the subsequent part of his reign, was the equanimity with which he rejected many frivolous accusations which were brought against the unwary by his own flatterers, or by the mercenary informers who began to swarm in his time.

In respect to criminal prosecutions, the change of government which took place at Rome, had, without altering the language or forms of law, made a fatal change in the effect they produced; and served to show, that the seeds of despotism may be laid in the freest establishments; and that when the characters of men are changed, the worst abuse may proceed from the best institutions *.

Provisions for the security of the State, or the restraints provided against treasonable practices, were principal objects in the laws of the republic. The crimes † against which those restraints were provided, were, in reality, a trespass on the majesty of the commonwealth, including rebellion, breach of public trust, betraying the forces of the State to its enemies, or violating the person of the magistrate in the

* Lex Majestatis. † Majestatis crimen.

discharge of his office. These were justly reputed an invasion of the rights of the sovereign, were public crimes, and might be prosecuted by any citizen, though not particularly interested in the issue of the trial.

In the time of the republic, the prosecution of public crimes was considered as a duty, and the character of an informer, bringing to light what offended the commonwealth, though in some instances invidious, was not reckoned dishonourable *. In this character the most respectable and popular citizens sometimes braved the resentment of the most powerful offenders, or, when engaged in private enmities, sought their revenge, without incurring any dishonour as informers, by raising prosecutions on a public account †.

Amidst the decline of republican manners, however, the mere permission to become a public accuser, and the credit annexed to this character, were not, in all cases, sufficient to obtain prosecutions, or to prevail upon persons, not called upon by some material interest, to engage in so arduous, and often so dangerous a task, as that of urging to justice offenders, who were powerfully supported by their fortunes, their rank, or the number of their adherents and friends. In the latter times of the republic, therefore, as the ardour of zeal for the common-

* Private crimes or offences could not be prosecuted by any person but the party aggrieved, or some person having an interest in the case.

† Plutarch. in Luculio, initio.

wealth was supposed to wax cold, and motives of ambition and interest were required in aid of public virtue, it was enacted, That whoever convicted a person of any public crime, incurring degradation or forfeiture, should be entitled to succeed to the dignity, whether of Citizen, Knight, or Senator, from which the criminal was degraded. And, lest even this consideration should not be sufficient to excite prosecution, it was enacted, That a fourth part of the estate of the person convicted should be joined to the reward.

The office of an accuser or informer, supported by a pure concern for the public safety, was commendable, and a duty, implied in the public defence, incumbent on every good citizen: but proceeding in any degree upon mercenary motives, even under the republic, when the cause to be supported was the majesty of the State itself, must have lost considerably of its lustre; and still more under the present government, when the object of the law, as well as the motive for its application, were so much changed, the character of a prosecutor, though disguised under the ancient forms and titles, was become, in the highest degree, vile and detestable: Whence, perhaps with too little distinction of occasions or services, the name of informer, when bestowed upon those who warn the magistrate of intended crimes, remains, even with us, a denomination of infamy or contempt.

Under the establishment of Augustus, the idea of majesty was transferred from the metaphysical enti-

ty of the State to the Emperor's person *; and so far as the majesty of the State is concentrated in the sovereign, there was certainly no error in this construction of the law. But in this case, a principal object of the law being to guard an individual, not only his safety, and the authority of his government, but his most private concerns, were made a part in the majesty which was to be preserved. Whatever implied disrespect, whatever alarmed his jealousy, or interfered with his caprice, even intrigues of debauch with women of his family, were constructed as treason. And, under a continuation of this government, the evil was still further inflamed by the pretended zeal of spies and inquisitors, who, partly to pay their court, and partly to obtain the rewards which arose from the confiscation of estates, endeavoured to keep on foot a continual persecution, in which they brought to trial the most trivial indiscretions, as well as more real offences, against the person, authority, or dignity of the Prince. The swarms of such persons who haunted the steps of the unwary, and filled the Senate and the courts of justice with cruel or frivolous complaints; in which, by interesting the passions of the Emperor, they endeavoured to make him a party in the vengeance to be executed against the accused; was one of the most grievous circumstances attending the last fatal revolution of State.

Tiberius, who, during the first years of his reign, and under his supposed awe of the public favour.

* "Majestas est amplitudo et dignitas civitatis." Cicer. de Oratore. Lib. [illegible] c. [illegible]

declared for Germanicus, notwithstanding the cruel tendency of an establishment to which he succeeded, and notwithstanding his own temper, which was sufficiently prompt and sanguinary, had the honour, in some measure, to withstand this torrent of vileness, and to treat many frivolous accusations with a proper degree of contempt. A Senator of the name of Falenius, being accused of having included, with other furniture in the sale of his house, a statue of Augustus*: another, of the name of Rubrius, being accused of having taken a false oath by the name of Augustus; and Granius Marcellus being accused of having taken the head from a statue of that Prince, in order to substitute a head of Tiberius in its stead, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in these and other instances of the same kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his instructions to the Senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the subject of the prosecution that was raised against Falenius, "My father," he said, "was "deified, that his divinity might be a safeguard and "a protection, not a snare to the People. His image "may, no doubt, be included, with those of the "other gods, as part in the furniture of a house to "be sold." With respect to the supposed perjury of Rubrius, he observed, "That if any one swear, and "is perjured, the crime is the same, whoever be the

* It is sufficiently known, that, in the heathen mythology, a place among the gods was sometimes conferred on mortal men, actually deceased; that an apotheosis was little more than canonization has been in later times; and that this honour having been conferred on Augustus, his name and his statue were ranked among those of the gods.

"god whose name is profaned. Augustus is no "more to be regarded, in this matter, than Jupiter "himself; and either of these gods, if offended, can "avenge himself*." The third offence, or the shifting of heads from one statue to another †, being considered as a mockery of that adulation which was so easily transferred from one to another in the succession of Princes, and as some degree of ridicule on the Prince himself, was not so easily forgiven: though, for the present, overlooked, it was reserved as a subject of future resentment.

To whatever motive we ascribe a conduct so popular, and in many particulars so worthy of empire, it is observed, that its effects on the minds of the People were not such as might have been expected, and did not procure to this Emperor the favourable opinion or credit to which he aspired. His manner, even when he affected humanity and condescension, was ungracious and alarming; and, notwithstanding any appearances to the contrary, his real character was supposed to be malicious and cruel. In accounting for this want of effect in his popular arts, it is said, that in the midst of the hypocrisy and dissimulation by which he had endeavoured to disguise himself in his way to the empire, he had made some slips, which betrayed the reality of his disposition; and that he had been surprised into acts of insolence and severity, in which, by mixing derision and sarcasm with cruelty, he had given the strongest possible proofs of a merciless nature. For the present it was

* Deorum injuriæ dis curæ. † Tacit. lib. i. c. 73.

observed, that his overacting the part of popularity, the ridiculous tyranny he exercised over the Senate, in requiring at once the affectation of freedom combined with the grossest servility; that the farce of affecting reluctance in accepting of a government which he had previously secured with anxious care; the ridicule of dividing in the Senate, or giving his vote with the minority, when a resolution was to be taken in favour of himself, served to join mockery and insult to the weight of his usurpation; that even his affectation of popularity, for the most part, increased the terrors of his government; that his presence in the courts of justice took away all freedom of judgment; and that the discretionary power which he assumed, of mitigating or reversing sentences, and of dispensing with laws, under pretence of correcting their general tendency by seasonable exceptions, only served to frustrate the pretensions to civil government, which, in imitation of Augustus, he still affected to preserve.

But, in whatever sense the favourable appearances which presented themselves in the beginning of this reign were to be interpreted, they were no more than temporary, and, in the manners of this Prince, gave way to the growing asperity of age, or to the presumption which took place in his mind, upon the removal of a person whom he considered as a dangerous rival, and who, in case of any public discontent, might have been made the instrument of overturning his government.

Soon after the death of Germanicus, accordingly, the temper of Tiberius, which had probably brooded

under the effects of restraint, broke forth in many cruel and alarming examples. His vigilance, hitherto limited to one object, and his jealousy, directed against a single person, now found a multiplicity of subjects on which, with less disguise or reserve, to exert their force.

Among the particulars in which the Emperor, in the first period of his reign, imposed some violence on his own disposition, we may reckon the openness and accessibility which, with a temper naturally dark and reserved, he affected to maintain with the People; and one of the principal circumstances, probably, in which he proposed to indulge himself on his being relieved from his fears of Germanicus, was in retiring from the public view, and in eluding the observation of persons whom he considered as spies on his own actions. In the eighth year of his reign, and in the second year after the death of Germanicus, having associated his son Drusus with himself in the Consulate, and leaving him in the administration of affairs in the city, he withdrew for some time into Campania, meditating, as Tacitus observes, a more entire and continued retreat. During the two first years after his succession, he had confined himself to the walls of Rome, and remained in the city, as in the watch-tower, from whence he was to observe and prevent all designs that might be formed on his government. After those years were passed, he made some excursions to Antium *, and other towns or villages on the same coast, but never to any greater

* About thirty miles from Rome

distance. In order, however, that the provincial officers might not think themselves altogether secure from his personal inspection, he frequently, even during this period, affected a purpose to visit the more distant parts of the empire; ordered his equipages, placed changes of horses and carriages, and permitted the usual sacrifices to be offered up for his safe return; but always, for some specious reason, delayed the execution of his pretended design. After having, in this manner, for some time amused the world, and, by the repetition of these and other artifices, furnished a key to the secret of his own conduct; his mysteries, for the most part, became extremely plain, and his true intentions easily perceived, merely because they were the reverse of what he gave out.

But while the Emperor thus endeavoured to debar the People from all access to his own person, and to seclude himself from public view, he selected, as a proper instrument of his power, and, in appearance, as an object of his most implicit confidence, Ælius Sejanus, who has been already mentioned as the companion of Drusus on his mission to the mutinous legions on the Danube. This person, supposed to have no dangerous pretensions, or, though false to others, supposed true to his master, he had placed at the head of his guards or Prætorian bands, and distinguished him with a degree of affection and confidence hitherto without example in any former part of his life. This being the first of his intimate connections whatever may have been its motive, it did not admit of competition or participation, and ren-

dered a person who was dark and impenetrable to every one else, open and communicative to this favourite alone.

Sejanus is described by Tacitus as of a hardy and indefatigable constitution of body; of a bold spirit and an insatiable ambition, which he disguised under an affectation of modesty. He is described as a person possessed of great art in concealing his own vices, and of insidious penetration in prying into those of others; versatile in his manners, and either careless and profuse, or vigilant and severe, as suited the occasion; insolent to those over whom he had any advantage, by fawning where he was the inferior, or had an interest to gain. In his youth he had attached himself to Caius Cæsar, the adopted son of Augustus; and afterwards succeeding his own father, in the station which he now occupied at the head of the Prætorian bands, seemed to improve the access which this situation gave him to the person of the Emperor, into an absolute ascendant over his mind.

One of the first or most observable signs of the great elevation of Sejanus, was the proposed marriage of his daughter with the son of Claudius, a brother of Germanicus; a person, though at this time in a great measure neglected at court, yet nearly related to the Emperor, and, in the sequel of events, himself unexpectedly raised to the imperial throne.

Sejanus being thus pointed out as favourite, by a mark of honour which tended to gratify his vanity, he took measures, at the same time, the most efficacious to establish his power. For this purpose he employed his credit in filling up with his own crea-

tures, as fast as vacancies happened, the Prætorian bands, the legions, and every civil as well as military department in the State; knowing that where government rests its authority on principles of reason and justice, the Civilian, the Senator, and the Statesman, are its principal instruments; but where it is founded entirely on force, its ministers are soldiers of fortune, and its powers rest chiefly with those military bodies who are in possession of the capital, or who surround the person of the Prince. This adventurer, therefore, being already at the head of this powerful department, studied every method to concentrate its force, and to secure in his own person the power of directing it to his purpose. To this motive is included, among other expedients, the change which he now made in the manner of quartering the Prætorian bands. These troops were hitherto lodged in the city, or distributed in the villages surrounding its walls; but apprehending, it is alleged, that they might, in that way of life, imbibe the prejudices of the People, and become no more than a part of the families with whom they were mixed, he persuaded the Emperor to detach them from that society; and, under the ordinary pretence of having the cohorts together, and more under the eye of their officers, erected a citadel and barracks for their reception; in this manner establishing in Rome itself, or in a recess to be comprehended within its walls, a fortress from which he could command the city, and employ the professional prejudices of those who occupied this garrison, most effectually against every person who was supposed disaffected to him-

self. In this disposition, whatever may have been the object of it, there is no doubt that the Prætorian bands became more detached from the citizens, and that the force and presumption of this formidable body came to be more easily directed and more tremendous to the other members of the community, or even to the Emperor himself.

As Tiberius seemed to set no bounds to his confidence in the minister, and by this means enabled him to employ all the powers of the empire in support of his own elevation, the jealousies or resentments of the favourite, against whomsoever they were directed, became equally fatal with those of the master himself, and being more numerous, involved the government in perpetual animosities, prosecutions, and cruelties, which may have, for the present, gratified the severe and jealous temper of Tiberius, but which were in no way conducive to his interest.

Under the influence of this connection, joined to his own inclination, the Emperor gave a ready ear to that numerous tribe of informers, who brought accusations against persons in any degree obnoxious or unacceptable to himself or to his favourite. In this predicament, the descendants of the ancient nobility, persons eminent by their birth, popular favour, or personal qualities, and considered as rivals for consideration or power in the apprehension of either, were the principal sufferers. The perpetual inquisition to which such persons were exposed, and which makes a principal article in the history of this and some of the succeeding reigns, must, by the frequent repetition of similar examples, become an ob-

ject of disgust, as well as of indignation or pity. And it may perhaps have been true of this Emperor, that even his character, though in itself sufficiently odious, may, for some time at least, have incurred additional detestation, from his having committed his administration into the hands of a servant, who multiplied the errors of his government, or gave them the direction of passions more numerous or less liberal than even those of the master.

As Sejanus was most vigilant and jealous in exacting observances to himself, it became more dangerous to neglect the attention he required, that even that which was due to the Prince. A courtship was accordingly paid to him by the retainers of the palace, by the Senate, by the Army, and by the People, more assiduous than even that which they paid to the Emperor. In private, every species of flattery; in public, many honorary decrees, were invented to gratify his vanity. The anniversary of his birth was joined to the festivals of the year. His name was inserted in the public prayers; and when any deputation was sent with addresses of respect to the Emperor from the Senate, from the Equestrian order, or from any other public assemblage of the People, compliments were at the same time sent to his favourite. The effigies of both were carried together among the ensigns of the legions, and their statues were grouped together in the streets. Women of every rank thought themselves honoured by the notice of this fortunate man, and became the tools of his ambition, or the prostitutes of his pleasure. By debauching the wife, he sometimes obtained intelli-

gence what were the designs or ordinary pursuits of the husband; and by encouraging the zeal of spies and informers, who were now become the favourite retainers of the court, he was enabled to pry into the actions of every citizen, and to watch all the symptoms of disaffection to the Emperor or to himself. Intoxicated with the extraordinary circumstances of his fortune, it is probable that he thought himself placed within reach of the throne, and measured his consequence with that of the persons who apparently stood before him in their pretensions to this elevation. The present Emperor himself had succeeded to the government, not by his birth, but merely by having survived every person on whom his predecessor could rely for support, or through whom, by any line of inheritance, he could transmit his power. Pointed out by a species of accident to the choice of Augustus, his successor had been first adopted into the family of Cæsar, and afterwards associated in the empire.

Sejanus computed, that he himself was already possessed of more favour with the reigning Emperor, than Tiberius ever had enjoyed with the person to whom he succeeded; and that there was nothing in the further progress of his fortune too arduous or too difficult for him to undertake. The conduct of the young Princes towards him had been provoking, and seemed to justify his resentment. They bore with impatience the intrusion of a rival into the Emperor's favour. Drusus in particular was frequently heard to complain, that his father had chosen a favourite to supplant his own son, and had made a

stranger little less than a colleague in the empire; that the steps which remained to be made by Sejanus towards this elevation were not so many, nor so difficult, as those he had already effected. "And we "must rely, he said, "on the *modesty* of this man "for the bounds he may think proper to set to his "further pretensions."

This favourite had already formed an intrigue with Livia or Livilla, a sister of Germanicus, married to Drusus. By his intelligence with the wife, he had information of what passed in the conversations of the husband; and, in concert with this abandoned woman, determined to remove a person from whom he had so much to dread. They took into their confidence, for this purpose, Eudemus a physician, who, under pretence of his profession, had a frequent and a secret access to Livilla; and, after some hesitation, and frequent change of their councils, they found means, by the hands of one Ligdus, a eunuch, to administer to the Prince a poison, of which he died. The cause of his death, and the circumstances of this daring crime, were not known till about eight years afterwards.

In the mean time, Sejanus, encouraged by the success of this his first attempt, flattered himself that he might now step into the place of the Prince whom he had thus removed; and, in concert with Livilla, with whom he had already lived in habits of adultery, he waited for the elapse of a decent interval, after which to propose himself to the Emperor as a husband for the widow of his son.

Tiberius, although he had, by this son now decea-

sed, a grandson of his own name; yet this young man being still under age, it was thought proper, upon the breach which had thus recently happened in the family, to bring forward the two elder sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, who were presented to the Senate as the great-grand-children of Augustus, and the future supports of the commonwealth. "These," the Emperor pointing to the Senate, and addressing himself to the young men, said, "are your fathers. Such is the condition of your "birth, that whatever concerns you, whether good "or evil, must affect the empire." It is, however, singular, that this speech, made in behalf of the sons of Germanicus, appears to have awakened the jealousy of the very person by whom it was made. Observing that the audience were moved with these expressions, and supposing that the tenderness which was shown to the sons, was a remainder of that popular esteem which, in the father, had given to the Emperor himself so much alarm and uneasiness, he appeared to be suddenly embarrassed; and, as if reproached with intrusion into a station which the world wished to have reserved for the parent of these young men, he proceeded to counteract his own apprehensions with his usual affectation of humility and moderation. After a little pause, "I beseech "you," he said to the Senate, "that I may be allow-"ed, at a proper time, to resign the empire." And as he was always distrusted, or had the worst construction ever put on his words, these were supposed to be the expressions of mere embarrassment and mortification, occasioned by the bursts of joy which

broke forth on this apparent restoration of the family of a favourite Prince.

Sejanus, who bore with great impatience the admission of new, and perhaps unexpected rivals, in the way of his ambition, improved these circumstances in the manner which he knew to be most effectual to awaken the Emperor's jealousy, and to inflame the animosity already subsisting betwixt the Empress Livia and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and the mother of these young men. The effect of his artifices and insinuations, operating on the distrustful mind of Tiberius, first appeared in the destruction of many persons who had been attached to Germanicus, and who still adhered to his family; and afterwards in the ruin of Agrippina herself, and in the death of the two elder of her sons.

The passions of jealousy and distrust, by which the Emperor was secretly devoured, but which he had endeavoured to conceal in the former part of his reign, instead of abating in proportion as he became secure, only became less disguised and more violent in their effects against those who happened to be the objects of them. He listened, without reserve, to every spy or informer, and, under the pretence of treason, directed prosecutions against every person in any degree exposed to suspicion.

Under such prosecutions, the accused, having no hopes to escape from a charge, in which the passions of the Sovereign were engaged against them, endeavoured, for the most post, to prevent, by a voluntary death, the consequences of a formal sentence in the confiscation of their estates. And this direful

necessity, frequently repeated, being imputed to the merciless policy or suggestion of Sejanus, instead of drawing upon him public marks of indignation or hatred, greatly increased the court which was paid to him, and multiplied the professions of public regard for his person.

The Emperor, in the mean time, as he sought for security and peace of mind in a quarter in which they surely are not to be found, in the destruction of the most innocent objects of his suspicion, felt his odious passion of jealousy ripen into a general hatred of mankind, with a dislike, in particular, to those very persons who had been the instruments of his revenge, and with an aversion to the very place at which he had multiplied its cruel effects. Conscious of what he endeavoured to conceal, and of what men were able to penetrate, he was jealous of every prying look, and detested every person whom he thought qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time, he received the crowd of informers who haunted him, as the most acceptable attendants of his court; at other times, he abhorred them as persons who penetrated his character, and who, to their own advantage, and to the disgrace of his government, were practising upon his weakness. After having resided constantly in the city for many years, he began to multiply and to prolong his visits to some of his favourite retreats in the country, placed guards wherever he went, to keep the curious multitude at a distance, declined the admission of persons who wished to pay their court, and was accessible only to his favourite minister.

Sejanus, still appearing to rise in the confidence of his master on the ruin of every one else, ventured, according to an agreement previously made with Livilla, to propose himself to the Emperor as second husband to the widow of his son. It was the practice of Tiberius to require, even from persons who had daily access to him, that every proposal they made should be put in writing; and it was his practice likewise to give answers in the same form. Sejanus accordingly presented a memorial to the following purpose: "That he had been so long accustomed to look up to Augustus for protection, and to Tiberius himself for every effect of munificence and goodness, that his wishes and his prayers were carried to them more directly than even to the gods themselves; that the splendour of high fortune had no charms for him; that his delights were in the cares and toils of a soldier stationed for the defence of his master; that he had, nevertheless, already attained to the highest honours, in the alliance of his family with that of Cæsar*; and that from thence probably arose the farther hopes which now he ventured to conceive. Augustus, when he deliberated on the marriage of his daughter, had condescended to think of a Roman knight. If a husband, therefore, should be thought of for Livilla, might he not presume to hope that the Emperor would not overlook a person so profoundly attached to him, who coveted nothing, on this occasion, besides the honour of being chosen

* The marriage of his son with the daughter of Claudius.

"into this high connection, and who had no ambi-
"tion beyond the duties of his trust, as a guard to
"the sacred person of the Emperor? For himself he
"was willing to perish whenever his Sovereign
"should cease to protect him; but his family had
"many enemies, and needed to be raised into some
"such place of advantage, at which they might be
"less exposed to the haughty and imperious insults
"of Agrippina and her offspring *."

In answer to this memorial, the Emperor acknowledged the merits of his favourite; but did not give him any encouragement on the subject of his request. "Princes," he said, "were not, like private
"men, at liberty to follow their own inclinations,
"but must consult the opinion of the world; and
"observed, that, under this restraint, he must, for
"the present, suppress what he was most inclined to
"reply. That Livilla might determine for herself,
"whether, having been the wife of Drusus, she was
"to accept of a second husband; or, if she had any
"doubts in the matter, she might consult her mo-
"ther and her grandmother, fitter counsellors on
"that occasion than he could pretend to be; that
"the marriage which Sejanus proposed for himself
"would not allay, but rather inflame, the malice of
"Agrippina, and divide the family of Cæsar into
"parties; that it would be impossible for him, if he
"should form this alliance, to remain in his present
"condition; that Augustus, in deliberating on the

* Tac. Annal. lib. iv, c. 39.

" choice of a husband for his own daughter, because " he wished for a son-in-law whose pretensions were ' not likely to disturb the public tranquillity, had " indeed turned his thoughts on some persons of " Equestrian rank; but that the example, neverthe- " less, was against Sejanus; for Augustus did not " actually marry his daughter to a Roman knight, " but first to Agrippa, and afterwards to himself." He concluded with insinuating, that he had other views for his friend; owned that there was nothing too high for his merits; and his opinion, in this matter, he said, should in a proper time be made known to the Senate and to the People *.

Sejanus was alarmed by this intricate and ambiguous answer, and dreaded a change of his master's mind. He had hitherto excluded every competitor from the Emperor's favour; but a temper so prone to suspicion, he knew could be easily turned against him, and would receive encouragement from numbers, as soon as they should see the first signs of distrust. For these reasons, he is said at this time to have formed the design of persuading Tiberius to remove from the city. When at a distance, he trusted, that by means of the guards, who were the bearers of all expresses and messages, he might be master of the Emperor's correspondence, and prevent the access of every suspicious person. With this view he expatiated on the troubles to which the Sovereign was exposed at Rome; molested with trifles, and crowded, wherever he went, with multitudes of

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv, c. 10.

idle or importunate people; magnifying, at the same time, the pleasures of retirement, where, free from the disgust and the avocation of inferior objects, he might bestow his attention on the conduct and result of such affairs only as were worthy of his notice.

Whatever effect we may suppose the representations of Sejanus to have had in persuading the Emperor to retire from Rome, it is probable that, in forming this resolution, still more was owing to his own temper. Though deeply tinctured with pride, the inherent vice of his family *, Tiberius had not any share of that vanity which leads men to display their fortunes and persons in the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocrisy with the worst species of sensuality, he could submit to obscurity: and, although the resources of solitude were now diminished by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averse to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a distance that watch which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Augustus, withdrew from Rome; and after this time, during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with repeated professions of his intention to return, he continued to absent himself. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to

* Insita Claudiæ familiæ superbia. Tacit.

Campania, he passed from thence to Capreæ, a small island under a head-land, which was called the Promontory of Minerva, making one side of the Bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this spot as a place of security and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-east winds, and was open to breezes from the sea on the south-west. It was accessible but to very small vessels, and this only at a single place. The seas were open to his scouts, and no sail could approach without his knowledge, or land any person without his permission. In this secession it appears, that he divided the guards, having one part in the island for the defence of his person, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government.

Among the Romans who were admitted into this retreat, are mentioned Sejanus, from whom the Emperor was still inseparable, Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight, and Cocceius Nerva *, a Senator of great dignity, who, possessing much knowledge in the laws and constitutions of the commonwealth, was still acceptable, or even necessary, in the councils of a Prince, who, except where his own passions were concerned, still wished to be reasonable and just. This person, however, from whatever cause, soon after ended his days on this island by a voluntary death.

Tiberius, in the latter part of his life, admitted likewise into his privacy at Capreæ, Caius, the third

* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv, c. 58.

son of Germanicus, better known by the name of Caligula. The society, however, in which he delighted most, was made up chiefly of Greeks, professed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and ministers of pleasure. For such men he had no respect, but suffered them to amuse him with their speculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in discussing ludicrous questions, which he himself was pleased to propose; such as, Who was the mother of Hecuba, and what species of music was sung by the Syrens *? These literary buffoons, however, no less than the objects of his political jealousy, experienced occasionally the effects of his capricious disgusts. One of them was banished to the island Cynaria for hinting a joke on the Doric accent, which the Emperor had acquired at Rhodes, in his pronunciation of Greek. Another, having found out that the Emperor read books every morning, out of which he proposed his questions at night; and observing the book which the Emperor had been reading, came so well prepared to discuss every question, that his trick was suspected. He was banished from the Emperor's company, and afterwards, by cruel usage, induced to lay violent hands on himself.

Were it established, that ignominy could have no effect, nor the odious aspect of vice deter mankind from yielding to the vile considerations that lead to the practice of it, there would be no apology for molesting the world with many particulars, either of the past or subsequent part of this detestable reign. But

* Sueton. in Tiber. c. 70.

it is likely that ingenuous minds may arrive at what is just, by desiring to shun what is odious and vile, no less than by admiring and aiming at what is noble and worthy. Certain follies and vices sometimes gain strength from the fashion and the example of persons in high situation. But it is established by the feelings of mankind through every age, that malice, jealousy, rancour and cruelty, cannot derive any lustre, nor receive consolation, even from the purple, or the throne of Cæsar; and Tiberius himself, considered as the monument of an infamy to be shunned, may be a teacher of humanity and of wisdom not less effectual than Aurelius or Trajan.

This tyrant, though now withdrawn from the resentment of those whom he injured, did not suffer his vigilant jealousy to sleep over the rumours and reports of his informers and spies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded severity, watched over crimes which had no existence but in his own imagination, or in his remembrance of the countenance and aspect of the persons he disliked. In his present retreat, he seemed to multiply the objects of his hatred, in proportion as he himself was secure; and in order to compensate the distance to which he was removed, employed a proportional speed and decision, to surprise and to prevent those who were suspected of any designs against himself. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the most part, were carried to the Senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints against the supposed offender, or as instructions to the magistrate to make trial or in-

quiry into the guilt of the accused, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Agrippina and her sons, with their adherents, or those of the father Germanicus, were principal objects of the Emperor's present animosity and cruel dislike. This family being high in the favour of the People, he fancied that the young men might not be disposed to defer the completion of their hopes, until a natural event had bestowed upon them a succession, which a daring attempt might accelerate. Nero and Drusus, the two elder sons of this family, having, without any authority from the Emperor, been included by the Senate in the forms of public prayer, their names were again expunged by his order, and with an admonition to the Senate, not to inflame the ambition of youth with premature and exorbitant honours.

This forward attempt to place the sons of Germanicus on the steps of the throne, was supposed to proceed from the ambition of their mother Agrippina, who appearing to carry in her high looks and vehement temper the pretensions of the grand-daughter of Augustus, and the mother of future Emperors, ever seemed, in the jealous eye of Tiberius, to reproach him with his having usurped, and with his continuing to possess, what was due to herself and to her children. Sejanus did not neglect to cultivate the animosity of either party. He had notice conveyed to Agrippina of a design that was hatching at Capreæ against her life, and excited her by these insinuations to give the Emperor provoking marks of her caution and distrust: these were easily interpre-

ted as the symptoms of a guilty mind in herself, and thus hastened such means of prevention on his part, as he thought proper to employ against her.

As mutual provocations had passed between Agrippina and the Emperor before his departure from Rome, and as she was become a principal object of his dislike, it is extremely probable that he had then resolved upon the ruin of her family, at least upon her own; and that he took his station at Capreæ for the more safe execution of an unpopular act, which might occasion some tumult in the city, or even a defection of the army. He proceeded, however, by degrees in the execution of his purpose, and before his departure from Rome, had made a trial of his power against some of her relations and friends. Under this description, he had ordered the execution of Sosia Galla and Claudia Pulchra, two women of noble birth, who were related to Agrippina by blood, and much in her confidence.

Upon occasion of the last of these executions, this princess, considering herself as aimed at in this cruel action, ventured, with a vehemence and impetuosity which made part of her character, to reproach the Emperor with his tyranny, accosting him to this purpose, as he was engaged in his devotions at the shrine of Augustus: "It ill becomes a person," she said, "who affects to worship the parent, to practise "the ruin of his offspring. The spirit of him you "adore, is not transferred into the inanimate marble "which you worship, but into his living posterity "whom you oppress, and whom you cause to live "in continual mourning, and in sorrow. Pulchra

"must perish now for the same reason that was for-
"merly fatal to Sosia, for her being the unhappy re-
"lation and friend of those you are determined to
"ruin." Tiberius replied in a Greek quotation, imply-
ing *that she was hurt, because she was not allowed to reign**; and in these words, contrary to his usual dissimulation, betrayed the rancour of his mind †.

After the retreat of Tiberius to Capreæ, Sejanus, to gratify the passions of his master, and to make way for his own ambition, continued his practices against the family of Germanicus. He had spies placed about them, and received frequent information in writing, of what passed in their company. He had accounts, in particular, of all the actions and words of Nero, the eldest of the two brothers, from Julia Drusilla, the wife of this young man, who was engaged by her mother Livilla to betray her husband. He took measures to provoke both the brothers to angry and unguarded expressions, and had these effects of his own provocations carefully reported to the Emperor. He had emissaries, who, insinuating themselves into the favour and confidence of these young men, urged them to rash and desperate resolutions; such as that of calling upon the armies in Germany to support their rights, of taking refuge at the shrine of Augustus, and of appealing to the People. When these emissaries could not actually prevail on the persons against whom they were employed to engage in the crimes they suggested, they had

* Ideo lædi, quia non regnaret.

† Tacit. Annal. lib. iv, c. 52.

instructions to accuse them to the Emperor of having deliberated on such dangerous projects.

While the sons of Agrippina were thus surrounded with snares, their most faithful retainers and friends were exposed to the same dangers, or actually fell under the hands of the executioner. Among these, Titius Sabinus had been distinguished by his affection to Germanicus, and remained still attached to his family. He had been, upon this account, an object of the Emperor's aversion, and likely to suffer under the first plausible pretence that could be found against him. Being selected, soon after the retreat of Tiberius, by the sagacity of those who wished to pay their court, as a proper object on whom to display their zeal, he was attacked at once by four persons of senatorian rank, Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Politius Rufus, and M. Oppius, all of them already promoted to the dignity of Prætor, and now aspiring to that of Consul. They agreed to pay their court, by some notable service, to the Emperor and his favourite. The first undertook, by insinuating himself into the confidence of Sabinus, to betray him into some criminal action or expression. The other three were to be placed within hearing of what should pass, in order to be cited as witnesses.

A snare, so artfully laid, could scarcely be avoided. The injured, wherever they think themselves safe, are apt to complain; and Sabinus, finding that his faithful attachment to the family of his late friend was warmly applauded by Latiaris, unwarily joined with the traitor in lamenting the iniquity of the times, and the cruelty of Sejanus and Tiberius. Conversa-

tions to this purpose being repeated at some supposed confidential interviews, but in the hearing of the other three, who were secretly posted as witnesses, it soon appeared, that there was sufficient matter against Sabinus; and the information was conveyed to the Emperor.

The informers, as a specimen both of their zeal and of their ability, gave a particular account of their conduct in bringing the treasonable thoughts of Sabinus to light. The information was applauded at Capreæ, returned to the Senate, and by them considered, not as a criminal charge to be tried, but as a warrant for the immediate death of the accused. And Sabinus being found by the officers, commissioned to seize him, paying his devotion at some public altar, he was dragged from thence to immediate execution. The particulars of the detection were published, in order to shew with what zeal the Emperor was served; and in order to restrain the disaffected, by a mutual distrust, from entering into any such dangerous councils.

The tragical death of a person, generally loved and respected, his being dragged by the executioner through the streets at noon-day, in sight of the People, spread a general consternation in the city. All orders of men, under their first impressions, deserted the public places, but presently recollecting that their flight might be imputed to a participation of guilt, or at least to some degree of sympathy with the person who suffered, they immediately returned to the places of public resort, and affected their usual ease and tranquillity. But from thenceforward, for some

time, it was observed, that a melancholy silence took place, even in the most secret conversations of relations and intimate companions, who, from this example, had learned to distrust one another.

Tiberius, upon receiving the report of Sabinus's execution, thanked the Senate for the justice they had done on this enemy of the commonwealth, and mentioned a danger to which his person was still exposed from other enemies, more formidable than those they had already destroyed. In this ominous insinuation, he was supposed to point at Agrippina and her sons. Asinius Gallus ventured to call for an explanation, by moving the Senate to address the Emperor, that he would be graciously pleased to make known the object of his apprehensions, and that he would accept of their services in the defence of his person.

Gallus had married Vipsania, from whom Tiberius was separated, when his marriage with Julia was determined. By this alliance, Gallus became the relation of Agrippina*; and, what was still more dangerous for him, had presumed to succeed the Emperor himself in a connection, of which he still was envious and jealous. This circumstance rendered him, to the dark and vindictive mind of Tiberius, an object of deliberate malice. When his motion to address the Emperor for an explanation of his fears was reported at court, it was considered as a saucy attempt to penetrate the secrets of government, as a

* Vipsania was the daughter of Agrippa by a former marriage, and consequently the half sister of Agrippina.

contempt of authority, and a dangerous attack upon the majesty of the Prince.

Tiberius would have seized this opportunity to execute his revenge against Gallus, if he had not been diverted from it by Sejanus himself, who wished rather to keep his mind intent on the destruction of Agrippina and the two elder of her sons, who were equally objects of jealousy to the minister as to the Emperor himself.

Such were the affairs which succeeded in the Roman State, to the great political questions which formerly used to divide the Senate and the People; and as the event of these affairs turned upon the caprice of individuals, they were very much affected by any alterations which happened at court. It being now the fourth year after the retreat of the Emperor to Capreæ, a considerable change took place, in the death of Livia Augusta, who, by her first marriage, was the mother of Tiberius; and by her second, the widow of Augustus, by whom she had no children. She appears to have been a woman of consummate address. According to Tacitus, a fond and partial mother, an obsequious wife; uniting, in her own character, the abilities of her husband, with the duplicity of her son. Being asked, by what arts she had kept her place so long in the confidence of Augustus? "By the most scrupulous virtue," she said, "by implicit obedience; by not meddling in affairs "of state; by overlooking his intrigues with other "women *."

* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 2.

The authority of Livia had been a considerable restraint on the temper of her son; and being exerted to thwart him on some occasions, had contributed to the resolution he took of retiring from Rome. Both the mother and the son had their jealousies and their resentments apart; but as they did not always fix on the same objects, such as were persecuted by the one, sometimes found a refuge with the other. They concurred in their aversion to Agrippina, but were probably divided in their inclinations towards her children. Livia, tainted with the rancour of a stepmother *, and incited by personal jealousies, ever saw in the person of Agrippina an air of superiority, which seemed to reproach her as the wife of Nero, and but an intruder into the family of Cæsar. With respect to the widow of Germanicus, therefore, she was probably more implacable even than the Emperor himself; but with respect to his offspring, these being her own grandchildren, it may be supposed that she could not possibly adopt the passions of Sejanus to their prejudice, nor wish to remove them, in order to make way for the ambition of a stranger. The death of Livia was accordingly to those young men a fatal circumstance, and facilitated the execution of the designs which the Emperor, or his favourite, had formed against them. Soon after the funeral rites were performed, the storm which had been long impending over them accordingly broke out. A letter from the Emperor was presented to the Senate, accusing Agrippina, and Nero the eldest

* Novercalibus odiis. TACIT.

of her sons, not of any plot or conspiracy against the State, or of any breach of the public peace, but charging the young man with lewdness, and the mother with haughty looks, and a stubborn heart.

This letter was received in the Senate with surprise. After some interval of consternation and silence, a motion was made to proceed in the matter to which it referred; but there being no specific charge, and no instructions to form a prosecution, it was observed, that the Emperor might have given way to his displeasure in angry expressions, without intending any farther censure or judicial severities. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by Tiberius clerk or secretary of the Senate, ventured to advise a delay, in order that the Emperor might have time to reconsider the subject, and to make the Senate acquainted with his real intentions.

In the mean time, the purport of this letter was rumoured abroad, and the Senate was beset with multitudes of the People, who, carrying the effigies of Agrippina and her son, exclaimed, that the letter in question must have been forged; that it was impossible the Emperor could intend the destruction of his own family; and, after the Senate broke up, there continued to be handed about in the streets invectives against Sejanus, under the feigned title of speeches delivered in that assembly.

When these particulars came to be known at Capreæ, they were represented by Sejanus as an insult upon the Senate, and as a contempt of the Emperor's authority. Libels, he said, were daringly published; the People were assembled in disorderly tumults, and

nothing was wanting to complete the rebellion, but arms, and the personal presence of those leaders who were already followed in effigy.

Tiberius accordingly renewed his complaint to the Senate, reprimanding them for not having proceeded on his former letter; but insinuated, that he did not aim at the life of Agrippina, nor at that of her son. In this he seemed to require a sentence of exile or imprisonment; and the members, now as much decided as they had been lately perplexed and irresolute, were eager to distinguish their zeal. After four-and-forty elaborate speeches had been delivered, all tending to prove the necessity of immediate severities, it was resolved that Agrippina, with the eldest of her sons, should be banished; the first into the island Pandateria, the place where her mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined; and the other to Pontia, another island on the same coast*. The younger brothers were overlooked on the present occasion. Drusus, the second, being persuaded by Sejanus that the removal of his elder brother tended to his own advantage, by opening his way to the empire, took no part in the distresses of his family. He himself, however, was soon after put in confinement, and for some years kept a prisoner at Rome, in a secret recess of the Emperor's palace.

Tiberius, in some instances, endeavoured to compensate the injustice which he practised against one set of persons, by acts of munificence to others, whom he selected as objects of his bounty, or who

* Suetan. in Tiber. c. 53.

were of too little consequence to incur his jealousy. He seized an opportunity of this kind, about the time that Agrippina and her son experienced his vengeance, by relieving numbers who had suffered by a fire which had recently consumed some part of the city, and others, who had suffered by the fall of a temporary theatre erected at Fidenæ; a disaster, by which, according to Tacitus, about fifty thousand persons were killed or hurt. Continuing, however, with respect to those who incurred his aversion or his distrust, to exercise a cruelty which seemed to increase with age, or with the consciousness of his own demerit towards mankind, he proceeded against Asinius Gallus with singular marks of deliberate malice; took measures to prolong and embitter the sufferings of this favourite victim; wished to witness their effects, and to enforce the impression of them with peculiar circumstances of insult and mockery. For this purpose, he procured a deputation from the Senate to be sent to Capreæ, and took care that Asinius Gallus should be one of the deputies. Upon their arrival, he received Gallus in a manner peculiarly gracious, admitted him as a party in all his entertainments, and as an ordinary guest at his table; but having in the mean time sent a complaint of treason against him to Rome, and directed that a warrant from the Senate should be sent to seize his person, he continued his former behaviour, and detained him at Capreæ, under various pretences of kindness, until the warrant of the Senate to seize him should arrive. He took care to be present when this warrant was executed, affected surprise, even

pretended to be distressed, and, when the prisoner was removed, gave strict injunctions that no violence should be offered to him, nor any sentence passed against him, until he himself should return to Rome.

In this ambiguous injunction, Gallus was condemned to a lingering state of suspence and of suffering, without the knowledge of his crime, or of the person by whom he was accused; a species of refinement on cruelty which Tiberius had lately adopted, and on which he sometimes expressed his meaning. Having a petition presented to him, that one of his prisoners might be allowed to die: "I am "not," he said, "sufficiently reconciled to him for "that."

While Sejanus was considered as the author of most of these cruel acts, and was accordingly the general object of flattery as well as of terror, he was in reality himself the dupe of his master's cunning, and at this very time was already doomed to destruction.

Tiberius, either moved by a mere change of caprice incident to unhappy men, or warned of some danger to his own person, from the height and from the views to which he had raised this favourite, had been for some time secretly resolved on his ruin; but while he revolved this purpose in his own mind, and weighed the dangers to which he himself might be exposed in the execution of it, he redoubled the usual marks of his favour, and in all his dispatches, in which he mentioned Sejanus to the Senate, designed him, *My Sejanus, and the partner of my cares and my labours.*

The public, as well as the minion himself, were imposed upon by these appearances. No honour was moved for the Emperor, in which Sejanus was not included. Their statues still continued to be erected together, and were multiplied in every street; and when the Emperor signified his pleasure that Sejanus should be named to the Consulate, together with himself, the Senate replied, by an act vesting the Prince and his Favourite with this dignity for five years.

Hitherto, it is probable, that Tiberius, well aware of the vigilance and penetration of this officer, and of the numerous spies he had employed, had not confided his secret to any person whatever, and wished to remove him from his person, before he ventured to proceed any further in his design. For this purpose, he had chosen him for his own colleague in the Consulate of the approaching year; and, under pretence of delegating to him the whole functions of an office, to which the Emperor himself could not attend, he sent him to Rome.

For some time after this delegate of the Sovereign arrived in the city, the usual executions for treason were continued, and persons who had incurred the suspicion either of the Prince or his Minister perished with their wives and their children. Many of them, as usual, to prevent confiscation, the effect of a formal sentence, laid violent hands on themselves, and some exhibited this horrid spectacle even at the bar of the Senate *.

* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 4.

While Sejanus thus seemed to wield the imperial power, and to hold the lives of the People at his mercy, he was attended by multitudes, who pressed to his gate in such numbers, that the court of his palace could scarcely receive them. He slighted the attentions that were paid to him; but with unwearied jealousy remarked every appearance of neglect, and doomed to destruction persons who gave any signs of impatience, under the state of servility and debasement to which they were reduced.

In the mean time, Tiberius proceeded with great circumspection. He had accepted the Consulate merely to flatter his minister, and to increase his security, in being placed out of danger, as colleague of the Emperor himself. But being to destroy this colleague, it was necessary that some one should be present, on whom, at his removal, the dignity of Consul might devolve. For this reason, he divested himself of the office, and substituted C. Memmius Regulus, who, on the first of May, was admitted to replace the Emperor as the colleague of Sejanus. From thenceforward, the conduct of this Emperor threw the favourite himself, and the public in general, into great perplexity. In some of his letters to the Senate, he spoke of his own health as declining, and of himself as a dying person. In his next, he announced his recovery, and a design of speedily visiting the metropolis. He commended Sejanus in one letter; he censured him in another; sometimes favoured none but his partisans and adherents, at other times affected to prefer his rivals. It is possible that, in these inconsistencies, he himself actually

wavered between hatred and fear; and apprehending the great influence of Sejanus over the Prætorian guards, hesitated in the execution of his purpose. It is likewise extremely agreeable to his character, to suppose that he meant, by holding forth some signs of displeasure, to urge the object of it to some act of indiscretion or insolence, which could be made the foundation of a plausible charge against him, and that he had spies on his conduct to lay hold of any pretence of this kind he should furnish for an impeachment; but that, fearing to drive him prematurely to some dangerous act of despair, he retracted in one message the provocation he had given in a former.

Whilst Sejanus appeared, from many circumstances in the conduct of the Emperor towards him, to be out of favour, he was raised suddenly to the dignity of Pontiff, together with Caius Cæsar Caligula; and thinking this a favourable opportunity to recover his place about the person of his master, he desired leave to offer his thanks at Capreæ; but was told that he might spare himself the trouble, for that the Emperor was soon to be at Rome.

To try the effect of a fresh mortification on the temper of this devoted favourite, Caius Cæsar Caligula was declared successor in the empire. The popularity of the family of Germanicus made this declaration be received with universal joy; and being joined to other indications, that Sejanus no longer had the exclusive possession of the Emperor's confidence, somewhat diminished the court that was paid to him.

From this time, it is probable that Tiberius took into his councils Macro, an officer already of high rank in the Prætorian bands, and whom he destined to succeed Sejanus in the command of that body. With Macro, he concerted the manner of removing this dangerous man, and formed a plan, which was to be intrusted to his execution. Sejanus was to be flattered with new hopes; he was to be surprised in the Senate, while the guards were to be amused with, what was a new circumstance in this reign, the distribution of a bounty from the Emperor.

In proceeding to the execution of a plan, to which the Emperor was led by his habits of duplicity, or which, from his fear of the troops that were under the command of Sejanus, he thought himself obliged to contrive with so much circumspection, he intimated to the Senate, and to Sejanus himself, that he speedily meant to vest him with the character of Tribune, a dignity which rendered the person sacred, and which, upon this account, the Cæsars had in some measure appropriated to themselves. Whilst this intimation was supposed to lull the victim into a perfect security, Macro was dispatched to Rome, and took care to arrive at an hour when the Senate had been, by order of the Emperor, appointed to assemble. He met Sejanus just as he had posted his guard, and was entering at the door of the Senate-house; and being asked, what commands he had from the Emperor, and what letters for the Consul? answered, That he had brought the intended appointment to the tribunitian power, and was to lay it before the Senate.

Sejanus took his place, with the usual attendance of persons who had accompanied him from his own house, and had the members of the Senate still crowding around him as usual, when Macro presented the mandate of the Emperor, and retired.

This paper was artfully drawn up, to gain time in the reading, and to keep all parties in suspense, while Macro should take his measures to secure the guards*. In the preamble, the name of Sejanus was not at all mentioned; in the subsequent parts of the paper, he was sometimes extolled, and sometimes censured. Other affairs were intermixed with this, and the suspense which so long and so strange a performance occasioned in the minds of those who were present, amounted to a degree of stupefaction. But it concluded at last with a peremptory charge of treason against Sejanus; upon which the crowd of attendants instantly withdrew from the Consul's chair, on which he was seated. His colleague in office, Regulus, called upon him by name to stand up; but so much was he stunned, and so little accustomed to this tone of voice, that upon a second call, he started from his seat, and asked, if the words were addressed to him? Surprise had disqualified him to take any vigorous resolution; and when he began to recollect himself, the precautions already taken by his enemies, rendered all his endeavours too late.

Macro, as soon as he had delivered the Emperor's letter to be read in the Senate, went to the guard which was posted at the doors; informed them, that

* "Verbosa et grandis epistola venit a Capreis." Juvenal, Sat. 10, v. 71.

he brought a donative from the Emperor, which they were then to share with their fellow-soldiers in the barracks; that for this purpose, they were immediately to be relieved by a party of the city watch. This being done, he led them to the citadel, or what was called the Camp of the Prætorian bands*, distributed the Emperor's bounty, and at the same time taxed their commander with ingratitude to so kind a master; intimated his removal, produced his own commission to succeed him, and, by the authority of which he was now possessed, as well as by the precautions he had taken, prevented any disturbance among that formidable body of men.

Meantime, Sejanus being deserted in the Senate by those who had attended him into the house, and who a few moments before pressed to be first in his notice, was taken into custody by the party which had relieved his own guard, and was treated as a person accused of the highest crimes. On the first motion for a commitment, he was ordered to prison; and all who were present began to give unfeigned or affected demonstrations of joy. From many, the fear that was lately expressed in adulation and courtship, now burst forth in reproaches and insults. In others, who were more nearly connected with the prisoner, or more likely to be involved in his fate, the occasion struck terror; but even this passion was disguised under the affectation of joy. The populace, as he passed through the streets, took their part, as usual, in the storm which burst on this un-

* Castra Prætoria.

fortunate man; and, that he might not have the consolation of passing unseen, tore away or threw open the folds of his robe, with which he endeavoured to cover his face.

On the same day, the Senate met again in a temple contiguous to the prison in which Sejanus was confined, and without any specific charge or evidence of guilt, gave sentence of death against him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as usual in the case of treason, being made fast on a hook, was dragged through the streets, and cast into the river, where it was thrown up, or continued afloat during some days, under the continual insults of a multitude of people.

It is not easy to determine how far this minister was accountable for a tyranny which occasioned so vehement and so general a resentment. His crimes were undoubtedly great; and the envy of his fortune was not to be assuaged by common sufferings. But, as human nature is liable to error in the manner of punishing crimes, as well as in the commission of them, the rage which now animated the populace against Sejanus, mixed with a servile intention to pay their court to the Emperor, led to an action as criminal and more odious than any of which he himself had been accused or suspected. The children of this unhappy man, a boy and a girl, though too young to partake in his guilt, or to furnish any subject of distrust or of jealousy to his enemies, were included in the same fate with the father: the girl with so much innocence, that she often asked the persons by whom she was seized, what she had

done; assured them with an infantine simplicity, that she never would do it again; begged that they would not carry her to prison; said that she never was obstinate, and that a few strokes of the rod were enough to correct her.

It is subjoined to this piteous detail, that, in compliance with a vile superstition, which the consideration of innocence could not restrain, she was ordered to be ravished previous to her execution; because it was ominous of misfortune to inflict the punishment of death on a virgin*. The bodies of these innocents, in the same manner with that of their father, were dragged through the streets, and cast into the river.

It is difficult to account, from any principles of human nature, for acts of such amazing depravity. Tyrants seldom exceed the bounds of resentment, of jealousy, or of fear; but the vile tools that are procured by servility to execute their purpose, in order to ingratiate themselves, often outrun, in their affectation of zeal, what tyranny or cowardice itself could not suggest or perpetrate.

Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and the mother of these injured children, having first disclosed the conspiracy by which Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had been poisoned, laid violent hands on herself; and, by the discovery she made, soon after brought on the ruin of the widow Livilla, with that of the other accomplices in that audacious crime.

It was reported, the anxiety of Tiberius, whether

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* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 11. Tacit. Annal. lib. v, c. 5.

real or affected, was such, that during the dependence of his design on Sejanus, he instructed Macro, in case of any resistance from the guards, to bring forth Drusus, the son of Germanicus, then a prisoner in the palace, and, under favour of this popular name, to assemble the citizens against them; that he had prepared shipping at Capreæ, to waft himself and his attendants, in case of necessity, to some of the military stations on the frontier; that he had formed a chain of posts from Rome to Misenum, the nearest promontory of Campania, with orders to light fires, and to make other concerted signals, in case it should be necessary for him to consult his own safety by flight. In his letter to the Senate, and in order to make a suitable impression of the danger to which he wished the public to believe he was exposed from the designs of Sejanus, he concluded with expressing his wishes to be again at Rome; but desired that the Consul, who remained at the head of the commonwealth, might come forth with the powers of the republic to conduct him in safety *. His design, however, having succeeded to his wishes, Drusus was still retained a prisoner in the palace; and the Consul being arrived in Campania, with his lictors, to give the Emperor a safe conduct to Rome, was every where considered as an object of ridicule.

After the execution of Sejanus, the city continued in a ferment during many days. The People having been disposed, for some time, to impute to the mi-

* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 13

nister the system of tyranny which had been lately pursued rejoiced in his fall, applauded the severities which were executed on the partners of his guilt, and willingly pointed out, as accomplices in his crimes, his relations and friends, and all who had ever moved for any of the extravagant honours which had been lately bestowed upon himself; but as in imputing the guilt of many cruel measures to Sejanus, they were too favourable to the Emperor, so they probably overrated the influence of the minister, who had, in fact, for some time, been more the dupe than the director of his master's designs.

As it soon after appeared, that the cruel jealousies of this reign did not terminate with the death of the favourite, the People, as usual, ran to the opposite extreme, considered him as a mere instrument of his master's tyranny, as a person employed while his services were convenient, but in the end betrayed, with a degree of perfidy which rendered the cruelty of the tyrant, in that case, more odious than even when practised against the most innocent subjects*. So prone are mankind, in particular instances, to suspect the falsehood, or to exaggerate the wickedness of those, who, by general duplicity and malice, have incurred their hatred or distrust.

The death of Sejanus was so far from introducing any mitigation of the former tyranny, that it rather furnished a new set of pretences, under which to exert its force. Intimacy with the fallen minister, or a supposed participation of his guilt, involved

* Sueton. in Tiber. c. 53.

greater numbers than had been formerly questioned on account of any other species of treason. Persons of every sex, and of every condition, were cast indiscriminately into the same prisons; and the time of the Senate was divided between the ordering of executions, and the appointment of honours which were decreed to the Prince for his vigilance in this matter. The title of Father of his country was again offered to him; additional rejoicings were devised for the anniversary of his birth; a general thanksgiving was appointed to the gods; and a new statue was to be erected to Liberty. All persons were forbidden to wear mourning for Sejanus; the anniversary of his death was to be kept as a festival, or celebrated with public entertainments and sports; and it was resolved in the Senate, that the extravagant honours so profusely lavished on that minister, should not be repeated in the case of any subject whatever.

These decrees, Tiberius, so far as they were intended to confer honours on himself, rejected with disdain; and even refused to see the deputies who were separately sent from the Senate, from the Equestrian order, and from the People, to congratulate him on this occasion. He despised the givers too much to be flattered with the gift, and was aware of their duplicity in pretending to offer him praise. Under this impression, at one of the last times he had attended the Senate in person, he was observed to leave the assembly with scorn. *What a collection*, he said, *of willing slaves**. There is, it

* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 13.

seems, a degree of good-nature, as well as of weakness, in wishing to be flattered. This Prince was equally exempted from both.

The Senate, however, the more they were spurned, became the more sensible of their own degradation, and only endeavoured to vary the mode of their flattery. As Tiberius ever talked of his approaching return to Rome, and of his intended appearance in the Senate, they passed a decree, that twenty of their own number, to be named by the Emperor himself, should be armed with swords, and should have charge of his safety as often as he took his seat in their meetings. When this resolution was intimated to him, he returned thanks for their zeal, and with some derision desired to know, Whether this senatorial guard should be young or old men? Whether they should continue for life, or be taken in rotation? And whether they should arm only at the door of the Senate-house, or pass in arms through the streets*? And concluded with saying, That, if his life was worth preserving, he should think himself sufficiently safe, when attended by Macro and some Tribunes of his guards, whom he would take the liberty to bring into the Senate.

This reference to the guards had the effect of an admonition, and drew from the Senate an attempt to pay their court likewise to this formidable body of men. Bounties in money, and honorary distinctions, were decreed to them; such as, that the Prætorian soldier, at the expiration of the time for which he

* Tacit. Annal lib. vi, c. 2.

had inlisted, should be allowed a place at the theatre on the bench of the Equestrian order. In this, however, the compliment was not more successful than it had been in other instances. It was even resented by the Emperor as an attempt to share the affection of the troops with himself. Junius Gallio, who had made the motion, was ordered into exile, and afterwards committed to prison in the city. At the same time, the Senate, as a last effort to please this froward Prince, seeing that the project to arm a part of their own number in his defence was not acceptable, resolved, That every member, in entering the house, should be searched for concealed weapons, as a precaution for the safety of a person, who probably, from this time forward, never meant to intrust himself in their hands *.

In the midst of these servilities, the Emperor met with some instances of a daring petulance, and with some even of a noble freedom, which he had the discretion to overlook, or to treat with affected respect. The defects of his person, he being bald, foul-faced, and bent, or stooping with age, were exhibited by actors on the stage; and the monster, so represented in public, it was said aloud, practised in secret the most detestable vices; alluding to the manner in which the Emperor was supposed to pass his time at Capreæ. But with respect to such buffooneries, he had the discernment to know, that a serious attempt to punish the authors would tend only to confirm the application, and to increase its effects.

* Dio. Cass. lib. lviii, c. 18

Among the numbers who were questioned as partners in the guilt of the late minister, and of whom many perished by their own hands, or by that of the executioner, Marcus Terentius, a Roman Knight, had the courage to acknowledge his guilt, and pleaded his cause in a manner that suspended the proceedings of the Senate against him. "It were safer, perhaps, for me," he said, "to deny, than to confess, "my connection with Sejanus. But whatever may "be the event, I must own that I attached myself "to that minister; that I desired to be reckoned "among his friends, and was proud of this title. In "his person, I saw the first officer of the army, the "first minister of state, and the colleague of Cæsar; "a powerful patron, and an irresistible enemy; one "whose favour was preferment and honour, whose "displeasure was ruin and disgrace. It was not for "me to penetrate the councils of my Prince, nor to "decide on the reasons of his conduct. It was my "duty to honour whom he honoured; and in this, "as well as in every thing else, to acquit myself as "a faithful subject, by a perfect compliance with my "Sovereign's will. Please to recollect the period of "this minister's favour, as well as of his disgrace. "My conduct in both, and my defence, is the same "with those of many others. We adhered to him, "while the Sovereign commanded us to do so; we "left him the moment he was supposed to be the "enemy of our Prince." Upon this defence, the absurdity of punishing in others an error of which the Emperor himself had set the example, suspended, for

a moment, the rage of prosecution; and the prisoner, with consent of Tiberius, was discharged.

An officer, named Lentulus Gentulicus, then at the head of the legions on the Upper Rhine, being some time afterwards accused as an accomplice with Sejanus, had the boldness to write, that his connection with that minister was pointed out to him by the Emperor himself; that the mistake was common to both, and that what was deemed innocent in one person, ought not to be imputed as a crime to another. "I have hitherto," he said, "been faithful to "my trust, and mean to continue so; but the first "attempt to supersede me, I shall consider as a "warning to defend myself. Matters, however, may "remain in quiet; I am willing to acknowledge the "Emperor so long as I remain unmolested." Tiberius, now far advanced in years, governing by the terror of his name, and by the influence of forms established in the reign of his predecessor and his own, did not choose to risk his authority against a person, who, being at the head of an army, had the courage to hold this language; and affected, from this time forward, to treat Gentulicus with particular marks of favour and respect *.

Others were imprisoned, and carried to execution in troops and companies; and the Emperor at last, as if tired with the pursuit of offenders in detail, or in separate divisions, ordered the jails to be cleared, by a general execution of all persons confined as accomplices in the treason of Sejanus. In consequence of

* Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, c. 30.

this order, numbers of dead bodies, of every sex, age, and condition, were cast forth into the streets, and lying scattered about, or collected in heaps, until they began to corrupt, were thrown into the river *.

Mystery and concealment being the favourite arts of Tiberius, as often as he believed himself to be observed, he became jealous of every prying look, and detested such persons as seemed to be qualified to distinguish truth from appearances. At one time, he received informers as the most acceptable members of his court; at other times, he appeared to detest them as persons who had detected his vices, and were hastening to make them known to the world. During the prosecution of his design against Sejanus, he encouraged his spies with additional rewards, and even with public honours. But after he had assuaged his passion in the blood of so many victims, he turned his distrust and aversion against the instruments of his own cruelties, and ordered the city to be cleared of informers by a general slaughter.

In one of his letters to the Senate, under the effects of disgust and aversion to measures which he had pursued for his own safety, but which he found to involve him in growing danger and guilt; stung with passions, which amounted to a degree of insanity, he betrayed the distraction and anguish of his mind. "May I perish," he said, "under evils still worse "than those I endure, if I know what to write, or "what I should not write." These were probably the boils, ulcers, and festering sores, on the body of

* Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, c. 19.

Tiberius, to which Julian alludes*, in presenting him among his Cæsars.

In the memoirs which this Emperor kept of the transactions of his own reign, he stated the disgrace and execution of Sejanus as a just punishment inflicted for his cruelties to the family of Germanicus; and yet these cruelties, which were afterwards carried to much greater heights by the Emperor himself, had been only begun under the influence of that minister.

Agrippina, with two of her sons, Nero and Drusus, had, indeed, during the administration of Sejanus, been taken into custody, or banished to some of the islands contiguous to the coast of Italy; but all of them perished after the death of Sejanus, either by the executioner, or by their own hands, urged to despair by the indignities they were made to suffer.

The mother perished in one or other of these ways in the island Pandateria, the place of her exile; and the eldest of her two sons was starved to death in one of the small islands called Pontiæ, to which he was confined.

The second son perished, in the same manner, some time afterwards, in a prison, to which he had been committed in the palace. A diary had been kept of all the expressions of impatience which, under this confinement, had dropped from him during some years; and the reproaches which were extorted from him, by his sufferings, were stated as the crimes for which he suffered.

* Vide Cæsars of Julian.

A third son of Germanicus and Agrippina, Caius, better known by the name of Caligula, yet remained, to convince the Roman People, that the fond expectations which are formed of Princes who die prematurely, are not always well founded. This young man, whether recommended to Tiberius by an early sympathy of their characters, or merely overlooked by him on account of his youth, not only escaped the persecutions in which his family was involved, but was at last embraced by the Emperor as a support to his age; and making a part of his court at Capreæ, next to Macro, enjoyed the second place in his favour.

The Emperor had a grandson by birth of the name of Tiberius; but Caius, who was his grandson by adoption, being elder, was pointed out by this circumstance of seniority, and by the favour which the People still bore to the family of Germanicus, as heir-apparent to the empire.

Caius was encouraged by the grandfather, to whom falsehood appeared to be a necessary ingredient in every transaction, to expect the succession, while it was really intended for Tiberius. The first, though not qualified by address to extricate himself from any difficulties, acted, perhaps from mere insensibility or fear, the part which was fittest in his place, and which continued to render him sufferable at the court of this Emperor. He acquiesced in the fate of his mother and of his brothers, without ever uttering a single word of impatience or regret; regulated his own behaviour by the Emperor's looks; and whether these were gloomy or gay, formed his own counte-

nance upon the same model, carrying, under the aspect of extreme servility, while a subject, that detestable profligacy which rendered him afterwards so cruel a tyrant, and which gave occasion to the famous saying, "That his accession to the empire spoiled a good slave, to make a detestable master*."

The accounts which are given of the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, have more the appearance of invective than of history. Even this hateful monster, it is said, was addicted to pleasure; but of so vile a kind, as to excite detestation and loathing, more than to increase the indignation which is felt at his cruelties and other crimes. His procurers had authority to employ seduction, money, and force; and, in their endeavours to supply his caprice, spared neither condition nor sex. It is difficult to conceive, that a world, enlightened by the reason and experience of so many ages; that citizens, acquainted with the character and the rights transmitted to them from their ancestors; that military men, yet rivalling the reputation of ancient Romans, and having no interest in the horrid use that was made in the capital of the imperial and military power, which they themselves bestowed and supported; should submit to be commanded for so many years by a superannuated monster, retired from the world, and supposed to practise every species of private abomination as well as of public oppression.

In accounting for the patience of mankind under this odious reign, we may observe, that, in the sense

* Tacit. Annal. c. 20.

of a People who still retained the ferocity of their ancestors, though possessed of few of their good qualities, the cruelties which are mentioned had less effect than they have on our feelings. They were practised chiefly against persons, who, being of the Emperor's own family, or raised by himself to be objects of general envy, were easily abandoned by the public to his will.

Senators of distinction at Rome, having no protection to expect from the populace, by whom they were hated; from the troops, who were jealous of them; or from their own order, who were long since stripped of every remnant of real power, were abandoned to the mercy of the tyrant. The followers of his own court at Capreæ, amongst whom the executioner made a principal personage, were still more in his power. Among these, the mandates of death were commonly executed in presence of the Emperor himself, who assisted in the refinements of cruelty which were practised against those who offended him. It was a favourite sport to throw those, whom he doomed to destruction, from a precipice into the sea, where they were received by a party from the galleys, who, with boat hooks and oars, dispatched such as were otherwise likely to escape.

After such an account of the character of this Emperor, it is painful, in accounting for the success of his government, to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability; and that while he indulged his caprice in the capital, or at his own court, yet in the provinces, where the consequences of an error might have been fatal or dangerous to his power, he

held the reins with a steady and a well-directed hand. Having possession of the empire, by means of the army, he maintained his authority over this order of men, by a well-placed application of discipline; not by any extraordinary indulgence, or bounty, which often corrupt, and render ungovernable, those whom they are intended to gain. On this subject it is observed, that he never made any general donation, beside that of doubling the legacy which Augustus had bequeathed to the troops; and no particular one, besides those which he made to the Prætorian bands, to secure their acquiescence in the fate of Sejanus; and to the legions of the East, as a reward for their not having paid, to this favourite, in the height of his power, the honours which were done to him by all the other armies of the empire *. He preserved his authority in the provinces by a jealous inspection of those who were intrusted with the administration of his affairs; and in this was, no doubt, greatly assisted by his indifference to personal friendship, which, in princes better disposed than himself, have often the effect of pernicious predilections and partialities. He checked all attempts at conspiracies, by the impression he gave of his vigilance, and by the mutual distrust with which he inspired his enemies, making the treachery of one to another the road to preferments, honours, and wealth.

The established rotation and succession to office or command, which Augustus, in continuation of the

* In the armies of the West, the effigy of Sejanus was carried with the colours or ensigns of the legion.

republican forms, had still maintained, Tiberius, by a very natural tendency of the monarchical spirit, in a great measure, or entirely, abolished. Such officers as were successful in keeping the peace of their provinces, he generally continued for years, and sometimes for life. He avoided, as much as possible, the necessity of employing, at the head of armies, men of enterprise, forward ambition, or even superior capacity. He left the disorders, or troubles, that arose in any distant province, to the effect of time, rather than be obliged to employ in repressing them, men who were likely to eclipse his own glory, or to awaken his jealousy. But as such men were likely ill to endure the state of obscurity in which they were kept, he soothed their discontents, sometimes, by flattering them with extraordinary honours. He named them for stations of high command; but still, under various pretences, detained them at Rome, where they were allowed to appear with the ensigns of their public character, but never to enter on the possession of its powers.

To these particulars we may join the advantages which Tiberius enjoyed by succeeding to Augustus, whose long and well-regulated government had left throughout the empire, habits of submission and obedience, which could not be shaken by offences committed within the verge of the court, or in the capital, and against any particular class of men, in whom the empire at large took little concern.

The ordinary residence of this Emperor, during eleven years in the latter period of his reign, was in the island of Capreæ. This he had chosen as a place

of security against any sudden attempts which might be made on his life. He nevertheless paid occasional visits to the continent of Italy, and made some stay at his villas situated in different parts of the country. In changing his abode, he kept the city of Rome in continual dread of his approach; sometimes presented himself in the neighbouring villages, or in the suburbs, but never entered the gates. At one time, he came by water to the gardens of the Naumachia, and feeling himself incommoded by the concourse of people, placed guards to keep them at a distance, and soon after withdrew; at another time, in the last years of his reign, he advanced to the seventh milestone, and was in sight of the battlements, but proceeded no farther. Being sensible of his decline and approaching dissolution, he undertook these journeys to keep the Romans in awe, and to check the hopes they were apt to entertain, of an approaching deliverance from his tyranny. From the same motives, he prohibited the resort of the People to supposed oracles, which he knew to be consulted with respect to the prospect of his own decease; and forbade all intercourse with astrologers and magicians, a set of impostors, in whose skill he himself, though a contemner of the established superstition, had much faith.

On the approach of death, Tiberius, feeling his strength rapidly decline, strove to amuse the public with another voyage, in which he once more pretended an intention to visit Rome; and being attended by Caius, by Macro, and by his usual retinue

of guards and parasites, he crossed the Bay of Naples, to the head-land of Misenum, where he possessed a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. At this place one of his physicians, under pretence of taking his leave for some days, pressed his hand, and took an opportunity to feel his pulse. From this stolen observation, it is said, that he ventured to inform Caius and Macro, that the Emperor could not survive many days.

But this wary patient, ever ready to distrust, being led by some appearances to penetrate their thoughts, or wishing to conceal the real state of his health, took his place, as usual, at table, affected to prolong the entertainment, and addressed himself, at parting, with some particular words of attention to every guest: but after an effort of this sort, which exceeded his strength, being retired to his apartment, he fainted away, and lay on his bed for dead. The report immediately ran from one end of the villa to the other. All the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his supposed accession to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addresses to the successor, a servant came running, and, in great consternation, announced that the Emperor revived, and called for assistance. The company, in a moment, dispersed; and Caius, with extreme terror, saw the ruin which threatened himself for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his presence of mind, and

under an affectation of care, put a sudden stop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius, by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, so as to stop his respiration until he was suffocated.

CHAP. XLII.

Succession of Caius to the empire.—The first appearances of his reign.—Conclusion of the history.—Observations on the sequel.—Accession of the Flavian family.—Vicissitudes of character in the Emperors.—Sources of degradation in the imperial establishment.—Its preservatives.—Its real and continual, though almost insensible, Decline.

TIBERIUS died in the seventy-eight year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign. U. C. 790. A. D. 37. By this event the imperial throne, for the first time since its establishment, became actually vacant. Men were left to form their conjectures of what was likely to happen, or, without any established rule of succession, to form their judgment of what was proper to be done on this emergency. Every question relating to the succession had been prevented at the demise of Augustus, by his having associated Tiberius in the government, a precaution by which the successor, instead of being left to rely on a controvertible title, was already in actual possession of the sovereignty. It is likely that Tiberius would have followed this example, if his grandson by birth, for whom he intended at least a participation of the empire *, had been of a proper age to as-

* Vid. Sueton. vit. Tiber. fine.

sume the government; but this young man was no more than seventeen years of age, while Caius, the grandson by adoption, was already five-and-twenty, and, joined to the pretension of seniority, had all the support of public favour.

In these circumstances, the dying Emperor thought it dangerous to declare his grandson by birth sole heir of the empire; but secretly drew up a will in his favour, by which he declared him associate in the government, and of which he carefully lodged many copies, while he made the world believe, that he intended the succession for Caius alone. In this act of duplicity he had concealed his real intentions even from Macro, the commander of the Prætorian bands, on whom the execution of his purpose chiefly depended; and by this means rendered it entirely abortive.

Macro, having been for some time past in actual concert with Caius on the measures which were proper to secure the succession; and both being equally surprised to find, at the demise of Tiberius, a formal participation of the sovereignty devised for the grandson by birth, their first intention was to cancel this deed; but they soon found, that the testator had made so many copies of his will, and lodged them so securely, as to render their design impracticable. It was determined, therefore, as more advisable, to refer the matter to the Senate, and to obtain an act, founded on a supposed right of seniority, preferring Caius to the throne of Cæsar.

By such an acknowledgment of right, the monarchy gained a new advantage, and perhaps one of

the greatest of which it was then susceptible, that some rule of inheritance should be followed, to prevent the ruinous contests which arise from an elective or disputed succession, and to give, if possible, together with a permanent right of the Sovereign to his high estate, a corresponding right of every citizen, to his rank, to his privilege, and to his property.

By this declaration in favour of Caius, it seemed to be admitted, that men were to look for a successor to the empire in the person who stood foremost, whether by birth or adoption, in the family of Cæsar; and in this the establishment of the monarchy appeared to be complete. The titles of Emperor and Prince *, or head of the army and of the Senate, under which Augustus endeavoured to conceal the extent of his usurpation, came, in the course of his own and the succeeding reign, to signify what, among the designations of sovereignty and imperial power, they now actually import, and what through a race of men, blessed with virtuous or moderate dispositions, might, as in other instances, have passed by hereditary succession to a very distant posterity; but in the persons who immediately succeeded to this government, the transmission of inheritance was accompanied with much violence and frequent interruption.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment now made in favour of hereditary right, the example of a formal resignation and resumption of the sovereignty,

* Imperator et Princeps.

set by Augustus, and repeated by Tiberius, had entailed a kind of farce on the empire, to be acted, not only at the accession of successive masters, but in the same reign, at every period of ten years. At every such period the appointment of an Emperor was supposed to be renewed: the occasion was attended with much solemnity, and the celebration of a great festival * for the entertainment of the People.

Caius, therefore, while he was far from admitting any doubt of his right to the sovereignty, nevertheless mimicked the caution or artifice with which Augustus and Tiberius had proceeded to assume the reins of government. He repeated the same professions of respect and of zeal for the commonwealth, the same expressions of personal diffidence or modesty, the same unwillingness to undertake the government, the same reluctant compliance with the pressing request of the Senate and People, the same affectation of filial piety to his predecessor, and of indulgence or candour to those who had, in any way, obstructed his own advancement. It was become the fashion to affect destroying all papers and records, from which any one could apprehend that matter of accusation might be brought against him; but it was become the practice to preserve them with great care.

Whilst the new Emperor passed from Misenum to Rome, he was attended on the highways by incredible numbers of people, who, animated by the affection which they bore to his father Germanicus, and

* The Decennalia.

by the hopes of exchanging a cruel and jealous tyrant for a youth of noble and virtuous extraction, received him with acclamations of joy, called him their propitious star, the child and the nursling of the Roman People, and bestowing upon him every other appellation of fondness or respect. It is scarcely to be doubted, as his mind was then elated with joy, for his deliverance from the insidious and cruel jealousy of his predecessor, and moved by the affection and cordiality with which his succession was acknowledged by all orders of men, that he must have felt a real, however temporary, gleam of good will and affection to mankind. When officiously told of some offences which had been committed against his person or his pretensions, he said, "That he had "done nothing to merit the hatred of any one, and "should be deaf to the whispers of informers or "spies." Affecting to follow the impulse of his own filial piety, and to be moved by the affectionate sympathy of the Roman People, he hastened to the island of Pandateria, where his mother Agrippina had suffered so long a confinement under the tyranny of Tiberius, raked up the ashes of her funeral pile, embraced her remains, and ordered them to be carried with great ostentation to Rome. Although decency required him to observe the forms and to carry the aspect of mourning for his late adoptive father and predecessor, he complied with what he knew to be the wishes of the Roman People, affecting to reverse many orders that were established in the administration and policy of the preceding reign.

Here then, if not before, we may date the final

and irretrievable extinction of the Roman republic, not only in the subversion of its own institutions, and in the actual substitution of different forms, but in the acknowledgment of a right which made the succession to imperial power hereditary, as well as the extent of it far beyond what was consistent with the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the Senate and People of Rome. At this termination, therefore, of the Roman republic, agreeably to the design of this history, the narration must cease, or conclude with a very general view of what befel the empire in the immediate succession of masters, and in the result of its own greatness.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances which presented themselves at the accession of Caius, he not having, either in his understanding or dispositions, the permanent foundation of any good character, his personal vices soon broke out in one of the most brutal and sanguinary tyrannies of which there is an example in the history of mankind. Having no choice of amusement above that of the lowest people, he soon plunged, together with them, into every species of dissipation and debauchery; remained whole days and nights in the theatres and in the circus, entertained with the fights of gladiators, the baiting of wild beasts, and all the other species of shows, of which the Romans, once a warlike people, now a corrupted populace, were so immoderately fond.

Ambitious citizens, under the republic, and even the late Emperors, with their court, had occasionally given their attendance at such entertainments, more

to please the humour of the populace than to gratify their own: but this Emperor himself, in respect to the qualities of his mind, was to be ranked with the lowest of the vulgar. He considered the circus as the principal scene of his glory, and the number of shows he could procure as the measure of his greatness. That the scenes might not be interrupted, or the spectators be obliged to retire even to their meals, he fed them in the theatre. He promoted persons to offices of state, or marked them out for disgrace or ruin, according to the ardour or indifference which they seemed to have for these entertainments. In the degree of extravagance to which he carried this matter, he incurred an immoderate expence; and besides applying to this purpose the ordinary revenue of the empire, squandered, within the year, a saving of about two-and-twenty millions Sterling, which had been left in the treasury by his predecessor.

In the sequel of these vile misapplications of time, the satiety he experienced, led him to indulge himself in the most scandalous and offensive debauch. A sense of the public hatred or contempt which he incurred, galled him with jealousy and distrust; and these passions soon ripened into a general enmity to mankind. Every species of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleasure; deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of justice, ordered without any formalities of trial, perpetrated in his own presence, and attended with expressions of insult and scorn from himself, make up the sequel of a reign which began with some professions and propi-

tious appearances of moderation, or at least of regard to the opinion of the world. But the degree to which human nature itself was disgraced and insulted, in these detestable abuses of power, hastened an attempt to relieve the empire from the dominion of this monster. He fell in about three years after he began to reign, in one of the passages of his own palace, by the hands of Chærea, an officer of his guard, who, without any intention to supplant or to succeed him in the empire, formed a conspiracy against his life.

The Senate, for a few hours after this event, flattered themselves in the belief that the government had devolved on themselves; and Chærea, by whose hands the tyrant had fallen, fondly wished for the restoration of the republic: but the Prætorian bands thought themselves entitled to dispose of the empire.

Before their officers had taken any measures for this purpose, a few straggling soldiers, pervading the courts and recesses of the palace, seized upon Claudius, the neglected brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula, who, as a changeling devoid of ordinary understanding, had been long neglected in the palace. This being the person who seemed, by his relation to the late Emperors, to have the best claim to the name and succession of the Cæsarian or Claudian families, they raised him on their shoulders, yet trembling with fear, lest he should be involved in the fate of his kinsman Caligula, and, hastening with their burden to the barracks, were received by their companions with shouts and acclamations, which announ-

ced to the Senate and the People, that a successor was already given to the throne of Cæsar.

The inactivity of this new Sovereign might have furnished the world with at least an innocent master, if his want of capacity could have been supplied without committing his power into hands equally disposed to abuse it with the worst of his predecessors. Fit only to be a pageant in the ceremonies of a court, or a tool to be employed by those who got possession of him, he came at last into the hands of the second Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula, who, though the niece of Claudius, became his wife, and prevailed upon him to adopt the young Domitius Ahenobarbus, her son by a former husband; and by these means made way for his future succession to the empire, under the appellation of Nero.

This impetuous, severe, and profligate woman, equally ardent in the acquisition as in the abuse of power, mistook, for parental affection, the earnest passion with which she herself wished to govern in the name of her son. Having ability enough, however, where she was not misled by her passions, to distinguish the proper instruments of government, she endeavoured to procure for him, in the tutory of Burhus, who was placed by her means at the head of the Prætorian bands, and of Seneca, who was by her means likewise recalled from banishment to his place in the Senate, the most able or specious direction which the times could afford.

Nero, acting for some time what Burhus suggested, and speaking what Seneca dictated, appeared, for

his years, to be a prodigy of wisdom and ingenuity. But his own personal disposition, making its way in a little time through the mask of sayings and of actions which were not his own, gave sufficient evidence, that the circumstance of having been the mere puppet, though actuated by the most able and ingenious hands, does not bestow ingenuity or ability, and that a direction, however wise, received from others without discernment, or knowledge of its value, cannot carry to the mind of those who submit to it any character of wisdom.

The name of Nero, after the person who bore it had, during a few years in the beginning of his reign, been supposed the model of royal and philosophic virtue *, has become proverbial for caprice, folly, brutality, insolence, and cruelty. To the contempt of his subjects, he at last joined a neglect of that very dignity to which he himself was raised, as Sovereign of so great an empire. Having a talent for music, he became, or believed himself to be, a distinguished performer, exhibited his skill on the public theatres, and travelled through Greece in the character of an artist, to receive the applauses of a people supposed to excel in discernment and taste.

The silent scorn which Nero incurred in quitting the character of Sovereign for that of Musician, became more fatal to him than the general detestation which he had formerly excited. A revolt which took place at first in Gaul, being followed by a defection

* The "quinquennium Neronis," was a proverbial expression for what promised well, but turned out otherwise.

of all the armies of the empire, reduced him to the necessity of quitting, by a voluntary death, a situation of which he proved so unworthy. Next to the fears which assailed him on the prospect of dying, he was most affected, it is said, with surprise, that the world could submit to lose the hand of so great a performer.

Such then, in the first period of this monarchy, was the progress of a sovereignty, erected by the Cæsars with so much violence, bloodshed, and criminal address. According to our ideas of inheritance, the succession did not, in any instance, take place in the family of the first founder, but was pieced up by continual adoptions from the Octavian, the Claudian, and, last of all, from the Domitian family.

The reign of Augustus has been generally applauded, and may indeed be considered as a model for those who wish to govern with the least possible opposition or obstruction to their usurpations. It may serve likewise as a caution, to those who need to be told under what disguise the most detestable tyranny will sometimes approach mankind. The wary design which marked the character of Augustus, was followed by worse principles in the breasts of those who succeeded him; and the dominion he established, merely to subject the empire to himself, without any disposition to abuse his power, became, in the sequel, an instrument of the vilest tyranny, and brought upon the public stage of the world, actors, whom their dispositions and characters must otherwise have condemned to obscurity, or exposed as a blemish and a disgrace to human nature.

The manners of the imperial court, and the conduct of succeeding Emperors, will scarcely gain credit with those who estimate probabilities from the standard of modern times. But the Romans were capable of much greater extremes than we are acquainted with. They retained, through all the steps of the revolution which they had undergone, their ferocity entire, without possessing, along with it, any of those better qualities, which, under the republic, had directed their courage to noble, at least to great and national purposes.

The first Emperor had established the military government with great caution, and even affected the appearances of a citizen, while he secured all the powers of a master. His successors retained, in public, the same familiarity of manners, without being equally on their guard against its abuses; or affected to be popular in the city and in the camp, without the circumspection which preserved Augustus from the contagion of mean or degrading examples. The State itself was just emerged from democracy, in which the pretensions to equality checked the ordinary uses which, under monarchies, are made of fortune and superior condition. The distinctions of royalty, and with these the proprieties of behaviour which pertain to high rank, were unknown. An attempt at elegant magnificence and courtly reserve, which, in established monarchies, make a part of the royal estate, and a considerable support of its dignity, was avoided in this fallen republic, as more likely to excite envy and hatred, than deference or respect.

The Roman Emperors, perhaps, in point of profusion, whether public or private, exceeded every other Sovereign of the world; but their public expences consisted in the exhibition of shows and entertainments, in which they admitted the meanest of the people to partake with themselves. Their personal expences consisted not so much in the ostentation of elegance or refined pleasure, as in a serious attempt to improve sensuality into a continual source of enjoyment; and their pleasures consisted, of consequence, in the excesses of a brutal and retired debauch. This debauch was supported by continual endeavours to excite satiated appetite, to prolong its gratifications, and to supply the defects of mere animal pleasure, with conceits of fancy and efforts of buffoonery or low humour.

The manners of imperial Rome are thus described in the remains of a satire *, as elegant in the style as it is gross and disgusting in the matter, and which we may suppose to be just in the general representation, whatever we may think of its application to any of the Princes whose names and succession have been mentioned †.

Although it would be absurd to imagine such a satire levelled at the corruptions of a modern court, whose principal weakness is vanity, and whose luxury consists in ostentation; we must not therefore reject every supposed application of it to the pollu-

* That of Petronius.

† Mr Voltaire has with contempt rejected its supposed application to the manners of a court.

tions of a Roman barrack, or, what nearly resembled a barrack, the recesses of a Roman palace, where the human blood that was shed in sport, was sometimes mingled with the wine that was spilt in debauch *. The representations of Petronius may be applied, in some parts, to the court of Tiberius and Claudius, more properly than to that of Caligula or Nero; or may have been a general satire levelled at the corruptions of the times, without any such application. But with respect to one or other of these Emperors, every part in the feast of Tremalchio may have been a genuine, though disguised picture.

Even in the court of the sober Augustus, pleasure was but another name for licentiousness. Love was no more than the ebullition of temperament, without the allurements of elegance, or the seduction of affection or passion. In the licence of the sexes, both of them alike resorted to places of infamy. Women of the highest rank affected the manner of prostitutes, and, to realize the evidence of their victories, collected the ordinary rewards of prostitution. Such was the vice for which Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was infamous, and in which she exhibited, as has been observed, not the weakness of a mind misled by passion, or seduced by some partial affection, but the gross excess of an appetite unacquainted with decency and above restraint.

In this state of manners, the first successors of Cæsar, not having the habits of a courtly decorum to preserve them from the contagion of mean and de-

* The Romans had combats of gladiators exhibited while they were at table.

grading vices, and not considering their own elevation as any other than a mere post of advantage, from which they could indulge every caprice with impunity, after a few attempts in the beginning of a reign to prejudice the world in their own favour, plunged into every species of excess that a vile disposition, set free from restraint, and exasperated by the sense of general aversion, could incur. Persons inclined to this course of life generally proceed in their vices, until they meet with some obstacle presented by necessity or fear, and, where they do not meet with any such obstacle, preserve no bounds.

A perfect freedom from all external restraint would be sufficiently dangerous to persons of the best dispositions; but to those who are cursed with the worst, such a freedom would be accompanied with certain ruin. It is indeed nowhere to be found; but the first successors of Cæsar flattered themselves that they had found it: and as they supported the first offences which they committed against the rules of propriety, by setting reason itself and the sense of mankind at defiance, they came to apprehend a species of pleasure in braving the detestation which they themselves incurred by their infamies *. They pursued the first strokes of injustice and malice, by a continual warfare of distrust, prevention, and revenge, against those to whom they supposed that their persons or government were odious; and they persisted in this course, until the extreme itself, being what nothing less than the possession of sovereign power

* Magnitudo infamiæ cujus apud prodigos novissima voluptas.

could support, appeared characteristic of empire, and a distinction of which the descendants of Cæsar alone were worthy.

During this unhappy succession of masters, the supreme power had been, for the most part, held or disposed of by the Prætorian bands. These troops, being posted in the capital, overawed the Senate and People, and, though not fit to contend with the legions who were still employed on the frontier, they gave possession of the empire, at every vacancy, before the legions at a distance had time to deliberate, or to take part in the choice.

This pre-eminence, however, of the Prætorian bands, had been impatiently suffered by the armies of the Rhine and the Danube. They wished, at the death of Augustus, to have given a specimen of their own consequence, in naming a successor to the empire; but being then overruled by the dutiful spirit or moderation of Germanicus, they acquiesced in the government of Tiberius, and remained in quiet under all the successions which followed; until, being excited by the defection of Gaul, which happened under Nero, and impatient of the mockery of sovereignty exhibited in the infamies of that unhappy person, they entertained, almost in every quarter of the empire at once, the project of giving a better and more respectable Sovereign to the world.

Within the compass of one year and a few months, after it was known that the province of Gaul had revolted from Nero, all the armies from the Rhine and the Danube, from Gaul, Syria, Spain, and Britain, were on their march towards Italy, for the important

purpose of giving a Sovereign to the empire. And it is remarkable, that this project did not originate with the leaders, or appear to be suggested by the ambition of generals, but arose from a spirit of commotion which pervaded the troops.

Every legionary soldier, prompted by the desire of spoil, by the prospect of possessing the capital, and of rioting in the riches and pleasures of Italy, conceived the design of pushing forward his own general to the head of the empire. The legions, therefore, burst at once from their quarters, and considering themselves as set free from every species of government, whether civil or military, set no bounds to their violence. Augmenting their fury by the consideration of the punishments they incurred, in case they should fail in their attempt, they passed through every city and province in their way, like a storm that wastes and destroys whatever is opposed to its course. Within the short period we have mentioned, a motley assemblage of provincial troops, dressed in the garb of their different countries, with different arms and different languages, mixed with the legions of Rome, who now for many years were strangers to each other, met on the Po and the Tiber, to dispose of the empire. And, in the sequel of their contest, whether as victors or vanquished, whether moved by insolence or despair, did equal execution on the pacific inhabitants.

These first general convulsions, however, ended in the elevation of a great and respectable officer * to

* Vespasian.

the throne of Cæsar, or in the substitution of the Flavian family to those of Claudius, Octavius and Julius. At the accession of Vespasian, every army had tried its strength, and competitors from the Court, the Senate, and the Camp, had made trial of their fortune. The victors in this contest received a willing submission from the pacific inhabitants of the provinces, who were ready to congratulate themselves on the return of public tranquillity in any shape. And fortunately, the first Emperors of the new family, Vespasian himself, with the eldest of his two sons *, came from the school of experience, had learned the value of reason, humanity, and justice, in the government of mankind; and they accordingly exhibited a character, which, in some of its parts, was still new on the throne of Cæsar,—the character of wisdom, propriety, and humanity, assumed for its own sake, and without any intention to circumvent the People, or to impose upon the world. The fortunes of this second imperial family, nevertheless, like those of the first, soon devolved on a person † equally unfit to sustain them, and equally unfit to be suffered by the patience of an abject court or a submissive world.

As mankind are known to run, occasionally, from one extreme to another, the evils which had been experienced in the characters of some of the preceding Emperors, perhaps, helped to incline the armies of the empire, at times, towards the opposite extreme; and they accordingly made compensation, in

* Titus. † Domitian.

some of their elections, for the mischiefs which they had brought upon the world in others.

Amidst the variety of examples which were set on the imperial throne, different Emperors paid unequal degrees of respect to the civil forms which had belonged to the ancient republic, and which were still retained at least in name. But the characters of Sovereign in the empire, and head of the army, being unavoidably joined in the same person; in proportion as the army itself came to be corrupted, the imperial establishment suffered, not an occasional and temporary abuse, but a radical and irrecoverable decline of its character, and even of its force.

The Prætorian bands were early debauched by their residence in the capital, the principal seat of licentiousness; they were inspired with presumption from the access which they had to practise on the vices of their Sovereign, and they accordingly outran all the armies of the empire in profligacy, insolence, and venality. They were, upon this account, broke or disbanded with indignation by Galba, the first provincial officer who was advanced to the purple; but this reformation only made way for others, who, being placed in the same school of disorder and vice, soon equalled their predecessors in all the evils which they had brought on the capital, and on the empire.

The contagion of military arrogance gradually spread from the barrack or camp of the Prætorian bands to the legions of the frontier; and, together with the hopes of raising a favourite leader to the head of the empire, promised exemption from every

painful restraint, and even indulgence to crimes. The practice of disposing of the sovereignty was followed by that of selling it for pecuniary bounties, and formally capitulating with every new Emperor for a relaxation of discipline, and the impunity of every outrage which these masters of the world were disposed to commit.

In proportion as the character of Roman citizen lost its consideration and its consequence, the name was easily communicated to all the subjects or natives of any province. But this promiscuous admission of persons, under the late honoured predicament of Roman citizens, instead of raising the provincials to the dignity of Romans, sunk the latter to the level of provincial subjects; extinguished all the sentiments on which the legions of old were wont to value themselves, and, with their loss of self-estimation as Romans, probably diminished the interest they took in the preservation of the Roman name. They became, by degrees, and at every succession, more and more mercenary or venal in the choice of their masters, more brutal in the exercise of their force against their fellow-subjects, and, with a continual degradation from bad to worse, substituted for the order, courage, and discipline of Roman legions, mere ferocity, with a disposition to mutiny as well as rapine.

In composing such armies, the natives of the more rude and uncultivated provinces took the ascendant over those of the more civilized and pacific; and the empire itself sometimes received its sovereign head from its most barbarous extremities, and from the nurseries of brutality, ignorance and violence.

From such a general tendency to corruption, it is not surprising that a nation, though once of such mighty power, should, in a few ages, verge to its ruin. It is rather surprising that a fabric, mouldering so fast within, should have so long withstood the storm with which it was assailed from abroad. Rapid in the first period of its fall, by the incapacity of such enfeebled hands to preserve so great an empire, the effects of its decline became insensible and slow towards its final extinction: So much, that although from the accession of Caligula to the admission of Alaric into Rome, was no more than about four hundred years; but from this date, to the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, was a period of above a thousand years. So long was it before the lights of civil, political, and military wisdom, erected by the Roman commonwealth, though struck out by the Goths and Vandals in the West, and continually sinking in the East, were entirely extinguished.

The fabric of the empire, during the first period, had many advantages to account for so long a duration, both in the nature of its materials, and in the disposition of its parts. The provinces were conveniently situated for mutual intercourse, and for mutual support; and there was an easy access from the seat of dominion to the farthest bounds of the empire. The order established by Augustus, and confirmed by Tiberius, remained unaltered, even by many of their successors. The worst of the Cæsars suffered this order to subsist in the provinces, and never looked beyond the court or the capital for the

objects of their jealousy, or fit subjects of tyranny. Even in such hands the engine of empire continued to work, because the master neither pretended to understand, nor attempted to interpose in the operation of its distant parts. And the authority of government continued high in the extremities of this vast dominion, while it sunk or was abused in the centre.

Valour and discipline, the best preservatives of many other valuable qualities, being long in request, though sometimes impaired in the Roman legions, still formed examples of a noble and heroic virtue, which qualified some of those, who attained to the more high and respectful stations in the military profession, to fill with advantage the imperial throne.

The inhabitants of the empire, in general, were corrected of that ferocity, or suffered an abatement of that national spirit, which renders subjects refractory, or repugnant to dominion from abroad. They were addicted to pacific arts, tractable, and easily retained within the bounds of submission; and they acquiesced in any government, however negligent or incapable. Some of the Emperors promoted the effect of this pacific disposition, by the confidence which they taught the subject to have in the security of his person and of his property, and by the encouragement which they gave to pursuits and applications which inspire the love of peace and tranquillity *.

* Vespasian gave salaries of about L. 800 a-year to masters of rhetoric at Rome. Marcus Aurelius gave salaries to many teachers of philosophy at Athens.

It may appear strange, but it is true, that even under the government of mere soldiers of fortune, the principles of law, founded in the maxims of the republic, though in some things perverted to the purposes of despotic power, was made the object of a select profession, and was studied as a rule of peace, and a security to the person and property of the subject. The civil law was thus not only suffered to remain in force, but received, from the consultations of lawyers, the decisions of judges, and the edicts of princes, continual accessions of light and authority, which has rendered it the great basis of jurisprudence to all the modern nations of Europe.

Philosophy, too, continued in repute from the times of the republic far down in the empire, and the doctrines of Epicurus, which had prevailed in the latter age of the commonwealth, for some time gave way to those of Zeno and the Stoics. While men had rights to preserve, and hazardous duties to perform, on the public scene, they had affected to believe, with Epicurus, that pleasure was the standard of good and of evil. But now, when the public occupations of state were withheld from them, and when personal safety was the highest object in their view, they returned to the idea, which seemed to have inspired the virtue of ancient times, that men were made happy by the qualities which they themselves possessed, and by the good they performed, not by the mere gifts of fortune. Under the dis-

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Hadrian established the School of liberal arts, called the Athenæum. Dio. Ca lib. lxvi, c. 57. Sextus Aurelius Victor de Cæsaribus.

couragements of many a cruel and oppressive reign, men thus instructed, and of high descent, accordingly had recourse to the philosophy of Zeno, as to a consolation and support; and although they were deprived of the opportunity to act upon their own ideas in any distinguished situation, they gave sufficient evidence of their sincerity, in the manly indifference with which they sometimes incurred the consequences of their independence and freedom of mind.

From these materials, the law was sometimes furnished with practitioners, the senate with its members, the army with commanders, and the empire itself with its head; and the throne of Cæsar, in the vicissitudes to which it was exposed, presented examples as honourable to human nature in some instances, as they were degrading and shameful in others. In these varieties, however, it is no disparagement to the good, to suppose that they were not able to compensate the bad, or to produce effects, to which the greatest abilities in a few individuals cannot extend.

The wisdom of Nerva gave rise to a succession, which, in the persons of Trajan and the Antonines, formed a counterpart to the race of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; and it must be admitted, that if a people could be happy by any other virtue than their own, there was a period in the history of this empire, during which the happiness of mankind may have been supposed complete. This however is but a fond and mistaken apprehension. A People may receive protection from the justice and huma-

nity of single men; but can receive independence, vigour, and peace of mind, only from their own. Even the virtues of this happy succession could do no more than discontinue, for a while, the former abuses of power, administrate justice, restrain the guilty, and protect the innocent. Many of the evils under which human nature was labouring, still remained without a cure; and the empire, after having in the highest degree experienced the effects of wisdom and goodness in such hands, was assailed anew with all the abuses of the opposite extreme *.

For some of the first ages, nevertheless, the frontier continued to be defended, and the internal peace of the empire to be tolerably secure. Commerce flourished, and the land was cultivated; but these were but poor compensations for the want of that vigour, elevation, and freedom of mind, which perished with the Roman republic itself, or with the

* These extremes scarcely gain credit with the modern reader, as they are so much beyond what his own experience or observation can parallel. Nero seems to have been a brute of some mischievous kind; Aurelius of an order superior to man; and these prodigies, whether in the extreme of good or of evil, exhibited, amidst the ruins of the Roman republic, are no longer to be found. Individuals were then formed on their specific dispositions to wisdom or folly. In latter times, they are more cast in a general mould, which gives a certain form independent of the materials. Religion, fashion, and manners, prescribe more of the actions of men, or mark a deeper track in which men are constrained to move.

The maxims of a Christian and a Gentleman, the remains of what men were taught by those maxims in the days of chivalry, pervade every rank, have some effect in places of the least restraint; and if they do not inspire decency of character, at least awe the profligate with the fear of contempt, from which even the most powerful are secure. Insomuch, that if human nature wants the force to produce an Aurelius or a Trajan, it is not so much exposed to the infamies of a Domitian or a Nero.

political character of the other nations which had been absorbed in the depth of this ruinous abyss.

The military and political virtues, which had been exerted in forming this empire, having finished their course, a general relaxation ensued, under which, the very forms that were necessary for its preservation were in process of time neglected. As the spirit which gave rise to those forms was gradually spent, human nature fell into a retrograde motion, which the virtues of individuals could not suspend; and men, in the application of their faculties even to the most ordinary purposes of life, suffered a slow and insensible, but almost continual, decline.

In this great empire, the fortunes of nations over the more cultivated parts of the earth, being embarked on a single bottom, were exposed to one common and general wreck. Human nature languished for some time under a suspension of national exertions, and the monuments of former times were, at last, overwhelmed by one general irruption of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance. The effects of this irruption constitute a mighty chasm in the transition from ancient to modern history, and make it difficult to state the transactions and manners of the one, in a way to be read and understood by those whose habits and ideas are taken entirely from the other.

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Bibulus, elected Consul along with Cæsar, ii, 408. Opposes the agrarian law proposed by him, 414. Is made Proconsul of Syria, iii, 226. Upon the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, commands the fleet of the latter, 345. Destroys many of Cæsar's transports, 358. Blocks up the harbour of Oricum, 352. Being taken ill, refuses to leave his station, and dies on shipboard, 355.

Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans, ii, 223. Overrun by Mithridates, *ib.*

Bocchus, King of Mauritania, at first assists Jugurtha, ii, 61. Afterwards delivers him up to the Romans, 67. Sends to Rome, as a present, a group of golden images representing that event, 115.

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in the Forum, 157. His speech to the people from the steps of the Capitol, 167—169. Appointed to the government of Macedonia, 181. Is superseded by the Senate, in favour of Antony, 186. Yet persists in setting out for his province, 204. Arrives in Greece, 241. Is well received in Macedonia, the Senate having reversed their former decree, 242. On the elevation of Octavius to the consulate, is condemned, in absence, for the murder of Julius Cæsar, 279. After the coalition of Octavius with Antony and Lepidus, Brutus prepares for extremities with them, 316. Reduces Xanthus in Lycia, 318—321. Joins Cassius, 323. Marches westward, in order to embark for Italy, 328. Is interrupted by a division of Antony's army which had already arrived, 329. Encamps, together with Cassius, near Philippi, 330. Operations and skirmishes, 331—333. Death of Cassius, 335. Brutus endeavours to protract the war, 336. But being urged on by the officers and men of his army, prepares for a general engagement, 338. Is totally routed, 343. His death and character, 344—350.

Brutus, Decimus, being required by Antony to evacuate the province of Gaul, refuses, and is besieged in Mutina, iv, 208. Raising of the siege, 255. Decimus Brutus is vested by the Senate with the command of all their forces, and acknowledged as consul-elect, 257, 258. Octavius having forced the Senate to name himself consul, and having turned the tide of affairs, D. Brutus is abandoned by his army, 286. Being seized at Aquileia, is put to death by orders of Antony, *ib.*

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Cæsar, Caius Julius, birth of, ii, 105. Is saved from proscription by Sylla, with a memorable caveat to his friends, 205. In passing to Rhodes, is taken by pirates, whom he afterwards pursues and punishes, 218. Is suspected of being accessary to the original conspiracy of Cataline, 308. Is elected Edile, 310. Opposes the execution of Lentulus and the other associates of Cataline, 337. Character of Cæsar compared with that of Cato, 351—357. His policy in supporting the pretensions of Pompey, 365. Is appointed to the government of Lusitania, 374. Returns to Rome, 402. Is refused a triumph, 404. Stands candidate for the consulship, *ib.* Is elected along with Bibulus, 408. His violence in carrying

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Being recalled by the Senate, and ordered to dismiss his army, he rather chooses to march towards Rome, 257. Seizes on the fortress of Ariminum, 262. Corfinium is delivered up to him, 274. Proceeds to the sea-port of Brundisium, whither Pompey and the officers of State had retired, 277. Gets possession of it, but not till Pompey and his friends had sailed for Epirus, 281. Prepares to march to Spain, 282. Has an interview with Cicero, 284. Visits Rome, 285. Seizes the public treasure, 289. Sets out for Spain, 298. Invests Marseilles, 300. Arrives at his army in Spain, 302. Is rather worsted in a skirmish with the enemy, 304. The rivers being swoln and impassable, his army is threatened with a scarcity of provisions, 306. He contrives to get a bridge thrown over the Segra, and thus procures supplies to his camp, 307. The army of Pompey having abandoned their post at Ilerda, Cæsar hastens after them, 310. He turns their flank, 312. Harasses them in their retreat to Ilerda, 314—316. Receives their submission, 326. Accession of Varo and his legions to Cæsar, *ib.* Cæsar takes possession of Marseilles, but exercises no severity, 336. Is named Dictator by the Senate at Rome, *ib.* Quells a mutiny in his army at Placentia, 337, 338. Arrives at Rome, and assumes the title and ensigns of Dictator, 340. Is chosen consul along with Servilius Isauricus, *ib.* Sets sail with a part of his army from Brundisium, for the coast of Greece, 348. On his arrival, sends a message to Pompey proposing peace, *ib.* But continues his hostile exertions, *ib.* Is acknowledged as Consul, and received into all the towns of Epirus, 351. Is joined by a great reinforcement under Mark Antony, 360. Wishes to force on a decisive engagement, while Pompey inclines to a dilatory war, 365. By a forced march, intercepts the direct communication of Pompey with Dyrrachium, 366. Repeats his propositions for peace, 367. Forms the daring and extensive project of investing Pompey in his station, 368. Is surprised by Pompey, and suffers a partial defeat, 373. Attacks a detachment of Pompey's army with success, 375; but Pompey coming to its relief, Cæsar is defeated, 376; and obliged to abandon his lines, 377. He continues to retreat, 381. Directs his march towards Thessaly, 383. Encamps near the village of Pharsalus, in sight of Pompey's army, 386. Gains the great battle of Pharsalia, 389—395. Sets out in pursuit of Pompey, iv, 7. Arriving in Egypt, is presented with

the head of his rival, who had been slain by the treachery of Ptolomy, 8. Meantime, at Rome, Cæsar is decreed Consul for five years, Dictator for one year, and Tribune for life, 13. Makes a long stay in Egypt, 21. His passion for Cleopatra, 23. Is invested in Alexandria by the party of Ptolomy, 24. Twice defeats the Egyptian fleet, 27. Receiving a reinforcement by Mithridates of Pergamus, routs the Egyptians, 29. Marches against Pharnaces, and gains an easy victory, 36. Arrives in Italy, after nearly two years' absence, 37. Proceeds to Rome, 38. Quells a dangerous mutiny in his army, 41—45. Sets sail, with an army, for Africa, whither the republicans had retired, 47. His fleet being separated in a storm, lands near Adrumetum with only 3000 foot and 150 horse, 49. Having been joined by the rest of his army, he advances from Ruspina, and encounters Labienus and Petreius, 54. Falls back upon Ruspina, and fortifies himself there, 57. Receives a reinforcement and supply of provisions, 61. Lays siege to the town of Uzita, 62. Raises the siege, 69. Surprises the town of Zeta, 72. Invests Thapsus, 75. Defeats Metellus Scipio in a general action at this place, 78. Takes possession of Utica, 88; from whence he embarks for Sardinia, 92; and soon after proceeds to Rome, *ib.* He is declared Dictator for ten years, and Censor, under the title of Præfectus Morum, &c. 93, 94. His speech to the Senate and People of Rome, 95—97. His four successive triumphs, 98. Continues to amuse the populace with shows and feasts, 100. His plan of government, 102—106. Sets out for Spain, where the sons of Pompey are in arms, 107. Totally defeats them near Munda, 112, 113. Names himself Consul along with Mark Antony, 120. Enforces sumptuary regulations, 122. His plans and policy, 123. Cæsar's character contrasted with that of Sylla, 124—126. He aspires to the title of King, 128. Seems to refuse the crown, when tendered to him by Mark Antony, 130. A conspiracy begins to be formed against him, 134. He receives, at Rome, a visit from Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, 140, (Note). Tired of the pageantry of state, Cæsar plans a series of wars, 142. In the view of leaving Italy, he fixes the succession of office for two years, 143. Progress of the conspiracy against him, 145—149. He is killed in the midst of the Senate, at the pedestal of Pompey's statue, 151. His will, 170.

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Cæsar, Augustus. See *Octavius*.

—— Germanicus. See *Germanicus*.

—— Caius, son of Agrippa and Julia, and grandson of Augustus, born, v. 172. Admitted, by the Emperor in person, into the order of manhood, and declared chief of the Roman youth, 220. Appointed to the command of the army in Syria, 227. Wounded by an arrow, 228. Dies on his way home, 228.

——Lucius, applying to be admitted into the consulate before the legal age, is refused by the Emperor, v, 218; but is admitted into the priesthood, *ib.* Admitted by Augustus personally, to the order of manhood, 220. Being appointed to the command of the army in Spain, dies at Marseilles in his way thither, 228.

Cæsarion, the reputed son of Julius Cæsar by Cleopatra, is proclaimed by Mark Antony, heir to his father, v, 56. Upon the reduction of Egypt, is killed by orders of Octavius, 67.

Calenus, Fusius, defends Antony in the Senate, iv, 230—232.

Caligula, Caius Cæsar, third son of Germanicus, admitted into the confidence of the Emperor Tiberius, v, 332. Is declared successor in the empire, 349. Succeeds accordingly, on the death of Tiberius, as sole Emperor, although Tiberius had destined Drusus, his grandson by birth, to a share of the sovereignty, 373—374. His tyrannical government, and extravagant fondness for the amusements of the Circus, 377, 378. Is killed by Chærea, an officer of his guard, *ib.*

Calvinus, Domitius, with transports and troops for the service of Octavius and Antony, is met and defeated at sea by the fleet of Brutus and Cassius, iv, 338.

Camillus, being named Dictator, defeats the invading Gauls, and relieves the Capitol, i, 67.

Cannæ, great battle of, i, 172—176.

Canuleius, the Tribune, proposes the repeal of the prohibition in the Twelve Tables against the intermarriage of Patricians and Plebeians, i, 52. The repeal is agreed to by the Senate, *ib.*

Capitol, the, is besieged by the Gauls, i, 66. Obstinately held out by Manlius, who is hence named Capitolinus, *ib.* Relieved by Camillus when in the act of capitulating, 67.

Cappadocia, murder of the king of, ii, 18.

Capreæ, the island of, becomes the residence of the Emperor Nero, in the latter part of his reign, v. 332, 333.

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——Cneius Papirius, consul, opposes Sylla in Italy, ii, 173. Is afterwards killed by Pompey in Sicily, 186.

Carthage, city of, its antiquity, i, 108. Description of its local situation, 322. The city besieged, *ib.*; reduced and burnt, 326; ordered to be rebuilt for a Roman colony by Lex Rubria, ii, 24.

Carthaginian Republic, short account of the rise and progress of the, i, 108. First treaty with the Romans, 113. The Carthaginians unite with them against Pyrrhus, 111. But the Carthaginians having acquired possession of Messina, 115, the Romans forcibly dispossess them, which gives rise to the first Punic war, 116. The Carthaginians maintain the dominion of the seas, 117. But the Romans equip a fleet with great expedition and defeat them, 119. The Romans land in Africa, and defeat the Carthaginian army; but are soon after routed in their turn, by Xantippus, *ib.* Great naval engagements, 121. Carthaginians make concessions in order to obtain peace; which ends the first Punic war, *ib.* Mutiny and invasion of the mercenaries at Carthage, 128. Carthaginians obliged to surrender the island of Sardinia to the Romans, 129. Second Punic war breaks out, 144. (See *Hannibal. Scipio* Africanus). Battle of Zama, and end of this war, 215—218. The Carthaginians resolve to retake their province of Emporia by force, 310. Are defeated by Massinissa, *ib.* Upon the Romans preparing to attack them, they make a formal surrender of the city of Carthage, 314. Are forced to give up all naval and military stores, 315. Are required to abandon Carthage, and build at least ten miles from the sea, 317. They prepare, in despair, to repel the commands of the Romans, 318. They gain a partial advantage, 320; but are finally subdued by Scipio, 326.

Casca, aims the first blow at the life of Julius Cæsar, iv, 151. Is elected Tribune, being supported by Octavius, 213.

Cassius, Sp. consul, courts popularity, by proposing an equal division of the conquered lands, &c, i, 35. Is condemned on suspicion of treason, 37.

Cassius, Caius, under Pompey, burns and destroys Cæsar's shipping at Messina, iv, 14. After the battle of Pharsalia, submits to Cæsar, and delivers up his fleet, *ib.* Upon Cæsar's assuming the sole power, begins a conspiracy against his life, 134. Progress of this conspiracy, 145—149. Its issue in the death of Cæsar, 151. Cassius is appointed by the Senate to the government of Syria, 181. Is afterwards superseded by Antony, in favour of Dolabella, 183. Yet persists in taking possession of the province. 201; and is supported by the Senate, 242. On the elevation of Octavius to the consulate, is condemned, in absence, for the murder of Julius Cæsar, 279. Dolabella having got possession of Laodicea, Cassius blocks him up in it, 282. By secret treaty with the garrison, becomes master of Laodicea, 283. Acquires the entire possession of the province of Syria, 316. In consequence of the usurpation of the Triumvirate, and with the view of being ready to pass into Italy, marches with his army to Smyrna, and joins Brutus, 317. Reduces the island of Rhodes, 318, 319. Returns, and again forms a junction with Brutus, 323. His speech to the united army, 324—327. His division is defeated by Antony, 334. Mistaking a party of horse belonging to Brutus for a party of the enemy, and fearing to fall into the hands of Antony, Cassius causes a slave to put an end to his life, 335.

Cataline, Lucius Sergius, first appearance of, ii, 183. His conspiracy with Autronius, 322. Progress in his grand conspiracy, 326. His designs are frustrated, and he leaves the city, 329, 330. Lentulus, and his other associates, are discovered, and punished with death, 334—341. Cataline takes the field, 341. Is defeated and killed by Petreius, 342.

Cato, the Censor, characteristic manners of, i, 295. His speech against the luxury of the times, 305. His eagerness for the destruction of Carthage, 311. Obtains a triumph at Rome, 341.

—— of Utica, anecdote of, while a boy, ii, 205. He urges the necessity of punishing capitally, Lentulus and the other associates in the Cataline conspiracy, 339. Character of Cato compared with that of Cæsar, 351—357. He opposes the agrarian law of Cæsar, 396. In order to remove him from Rome, is sent on a commission to Cyprus, 424. His return from Cyprus, iii, 51. His repulse at the election of Prætors, 52. He opposes Pompey and Crassus, 69, 70. Is unsuccessful as a candidate for the consulship, 203. Is appointed to the command of Sicily,

292; but is necessitated to withdraw from it on the arrival of Cæsar's troops, 293. After the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, sails into the African seas, iv, 9. Learning the fate of Pompey, lands at Berenicé, and marches to the Roman province, 11. Takes his station at Utica, 20. After the defeat of Scipio at Thapsus, continues to encourage the Patriots to stand out against Cæsar, 81. Finding most of them inclined either to flee or to submit, after spending the day in aiding their escape, he retires to his chamber and kills himself, 84. His character, *ib.*; also, v, 74.

Cato, Caius, the tribune, in concert with Pompey and Crassus, interposes his negative to suspend the usual election of magistrates, iii, 69.

Catulus, L. Lutatius, consul, is obliged to flee before the barbarous nations, ii, 38. But, being supported by Marius, returns and routs them, 89. Partakes in the triumph at Rome with Marius, 90. His unhappy death, 161.

——— Lutatius, opposes Pompey's pretensions to power, ii, 273. His character and death, 392.

Censor, the office of, separated from that of consul, i, 50. After an intermission of many years, the office is revived in the consulate of Pompey, ii, 280. Becomes almost obsolete, iii, 202. Is revived in the person of Julius Cæsar, upon his usurping the sovereignty, under the title of Præfectus Morum, iv, 93. Held by Augustus under the same title, v, 174.

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Centuries, account of this division of the citizens, i, 7. State of the centuries at the establishment of the census, 8, (Note).

Chæronea, battle of, ii, 150.

CHRIST, the birth of, noticed, v, 221.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius, birth of, ii, 82. Begins to be distinguished at the bar, 204. Lends his aid to the advancement of Pompey, 283. Stands candidate for the consulate, 311. Is elected along with Caius Antonius, 313. Pleads the cause of Rabirius, 320. Denounces Cataline, 327. Is warned of the conspiracy of Lentu-

lus, and detects it, 330—336. His weakness in being led, by flattery, to support the pretensions of Pompey and Cæsar, 390. Is persecuted by the tribune Clodius, 424. Is abandoned by Pompey, 427. Leaves Rome, 429. Frailties in his character, 430—432. Proposal to recall him from exile, iii, 21. Violently opposed by Clodius, 24. Cicero is at last restored, 37; and arrives at Rome, 38. Receives back the ground on which his house had formerly stood, 43—44. Pleads the cause of Milo, 156. Appointed to the province of Cilicia, 205. His operations there, 227—230. His return to Rome, 251. His irresolution and distraction upon the flight of Pompey, and the approach of Cæsar to the capital, 283. Has an interview with Cæsar, 284. After the death of Cæsar, retires for a time from Rome, iv, 187. Upon his return, delivers in the senate his first philippic against Antony. 191. Is courted and consulted by Octavius, 201. Encourages Brutus and Cassius, and declares against Antony, 211—212. Exerts his eloquence against him, 226, 227. Has the chief direction of affairs at Rome, 237. Upon the formation of the second triumvirate, (Octavius, Antony and Lepidus), Cicero is included in the list of the proscribed, 289. Flees from Rome, 300. His irresolution and agony, 301; but calmness when his fate became certain, 302. His death, and character, 303, 306.

Cicero, Quintus Tullius, is besieged in his camp by Ambiorix the Gaulish chieftain, iii, 125. But relieved by Cæsar, 129.

Cilicia, province of, committed to Cicero, iii, 205. Operations of Cicero there, 227—230.

Cimbri, (various barbarous nations under this name) make their appearance, and defeat the Romans under Papirius Carbo, ii, 41. Again defeat them under the Consul Silanus, 50. Overcome two Roman armies on the Rhone, with great slaughter, 68. One division, the Ambrones and Teutones, routed by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ, 86. The other division, the Cimbri and Tectosages, cut off by Catulus and Marius in Italy, 89.

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Claudius, second son of Drusus, and brother to Germanicus, long neglected on account of his supposed imbecility, v, 209. Is unexpectedly raised to the sovereignty on the death of Caligula, 400.

Clemens, an impostor, personates Agrippa Posthumus, and sets up a claim to the imperial throne, v, 289. Being circumvented by the emissaries of Tiberius, is put to death, 290.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, is excluded by her brother from her share of the throne, iv, 3. She visits, and engages the affections of, Julius Cæsar, upon his arrival at Alexandria, 23. Is placed, by Cæsar, on the throne of Egypt in conjunction with her younger brother, the elder having died, 30. Pays a visit to Cæsar at Rome, 140. (Note). Meets Mark Antony in Cilicia, and carries him with her into Egypt, 375. After Antony's marriage to Octavia, Cleopatra pays him a visit in Syria, whither he had gone to repel the Parthian invasion of that province, v, 8. After his unsuccessful campaign against the Parthians, she conveys him, in the Egyptian fleet, to Alexandria, 14. On his rupture with Octavius, accompanies him to Greece with her fleet, to aid him in the war, 34. Is defeated in the battle of Actium, and flees to Egypt, 45—47. Her policy on arriving there, 55. Her fleet and army either surrender or are dispersed, 60. Her last interview with the dying Antony, 61. Receives a visit from Octavius, 64—65. Fearing that the conqueror meant to carry her captive to Rome, she puts herself to death, 67.

Clients and patrons, original Romans divided into, i, 5.

Clodius, Publius, profanes the sacred rites, ii, 377. Is tried and acquitted, 381. Elected a tribune of the people, 419. Projects the ruin of Cicero, 420. Policy of Clodius, 421—423. Cicero having retired from Rome, Clodius violently opposes a proposal to recall him, iii, 24. Procures his own election as ædile, 48. Stands candidate for the office of prætor, 144. Is killed in a fray with Milo, 146.

Coin, Roman, operation on, in order to raise the current value, i, 125.

Colonies, Roman, number of, in Italy, i, 124.

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Corinth, reduced and burnt by the Romans, i, 335.
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Corn, gratuitous distribution of, to the Roman people, first proposed, i, 37.
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——— daughter of Metellus Scipio, is married to Pompey the Great, iii, 144.
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Cornificius maintains the province of Africa, in opposition to the Second Triumvirate, iv, 315. Is defeated, and himself killed, *ib.*
Crassus, Marcus, marches against the revolted gladiators, ii, 242; and routs them, 243. Is elected to the consulate along with Pompey, 247. His great private riches, 251. Secretly unites himself to the party of Pompey and Cæsar, 389. Renews his confederacy with these leaders, iii, 58. Is again elected consul along with Pompey, 70. Secures to himself the province of Syria for five years, 73, 74. Sets out for his province, 76. His progress there, 100. Invades Mesopotamia, 102. Is partially defeated by the Parthians under Surena, 137—139. Is betrayed by Surena at a conference, and slain, 142.
——— Publius, son of Marcus, serves in Gaul under Julius Cæsar, iii, 36. Is detached, with 1000 horse, and many marks of ho-

nour, to the assistance of his father in Syria, 102. Too eagerly engaging the Parthians, is cut off, with a great part of the Roman cavalry, 140.

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Critognatus, a Gaulish warrior, his speech to his army while hemmed in by Cæsar at Alesia, iii, 191.

Curiæ, Centuries, and Tribes, Roman citizens divided into, i, 8.

Curile Ædiles, (directors of the public amusements,) office instituted, and confined to the patrician order, i, 79.

Curio, the tribune, having been gained by the liberalities of Cæsar, supports his cause at Rome, iii, 234—236. Is afterwards sent by him to Sicily; 293; of which he easily acquires possession, *ib.* Follows the party of Pompey into Africa, 342; but is overwhelmed by the Numidian allies, 343.

Cynocephalæ, battle of, between the Romans and Philip of Macedonia, i, 236.

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Decemvirs, at first appointed to draw up a new code of laws, i, 41; but procure themselves to be vested with a temporary sovereignty, 42. Do not resign when the period of their commission expires, 46; but are soon afterwards overturned, on occasion of the death of Virginia, 48.

Dentatus, the Roman soldier, his many hazardous services, i, 61.

——— Curius, the consul, reduces Tarentum, i, 98.

Dictator, first nominated, i, 20. His extraordinary powers, *ib.*; but limited duration of his office, *ib.*

Dolabella, having procured his election as tribune, stirs up tumults in the city, iv, 17. Having been nominated consul by Cæsar, upon the death of the usurper, assumes the ensigns of office, pretending, at the same time, to side with the party of Brutus, 155—156. By the influence of Antony, is appointed to supersede Cassius in the government of Syria, 186. In his march to the East, surprises Smyrna, and puts Trebonius the governor to death, 244. His squadron is defeated, 289. He proceeds, however, to Laodicea, 282. Is there blocked up by Cassius, 283. His garrison betraying him, he chooses to die by the hand of a confidential follower, 284.

Drama, progress of the, at Rome, i, 351.
Drusilla. See *Livia*.
Drusus, Livius, the tribune, proposes several important laws, ii, 118. Is assassinated, 119.
——— (Germanicus), the second son of Livia, and stepson of Augustus, explores the coasts of the Northern Ocean, v, 202. Is saluted by the army Imperator; but the title is suppressed, as being now appropriated to the Sovereign, 203. Defeats the German nations, 204. Afterwards penetrates to the Elbe, 208. His death, *ib.* His corpse is carried overland to Rome, and his ashes deposited in the tomb of Augustus, *ib.*
Drusus, the son of Tiberius, acts as Quæstor, v, 250. Is entered on the list of Consuls without previously passing through the rank of Prætor, 253. Is sent to quell a mutiny in the army in Panonia, 276. Is poisoned by Sejanus, in concert with his own wife Livilla, 324.
Dyrrachium, the armies of Pompey and of Cæsar encamp in the neighbourhood of, iii, 352. Celebrated lines thrown up by Cæsar at this place, 368—373.

Edile. See Ædile.
Egypt, state of, in the first ages of Rome, i, 108. Auletes, the dethroned king of, is restored by the Romans, iii, 82. State of parties in, at the arrival of Pompey after the battle of Pharsalia, iv, 4. (See *Cæsar*. *Cleopatra*). After the death of Cleopatra, Egypt becomes a Roman province, v, 84, 85.
Emilius Paulus. See *Paulus*.
Epicurean, sketch of their principles, ii, 351—353.
Equestrian order at Rome, notice of the, i, 80.
Etolians, dissatisfied with the conduct of the Romans, invite Antiochus to come into Greece, i, 247. Upon the defeat and flight of Antiochus, the Etolians are necessitated to sue for terms from the Romans, 263; which they obtain, 264.

Fabius Maximus, named Pro-dictator, i, 168. Saves the Roman army when in imminent danger through the rashness of his colleague Minutius, 170.
Fimbria, lieutenant to Flaccus, assassinates his general, and takes the command of the army, ii, 165. Being deserted by the army, he puts an end to his own life, 169.

Flaccus, Fulvius, raised to the consulate, ii, 7. Proposes to admit the Italian allies as Roman citizens, 8. Is afterwards put to death for sedition, 28.

——— Valerius, colleague of Cinna, is assassinated by his lieutenant, Fimbria, ii, 165.

——— Valerius, appointed lieutenant to Sylla the Dictator, ii, 187.

Flamen Dialis, or Priest of Jupiter, added by Augustus to the other dignities he had assumed, v, 206.

Flaminius, Caius, named Consul, i, 160. Rashly engages Hannibal, and perishes, with great part of his army, near Cortona, 164.

Flaminius, the Roman Consul, takes the command in Greece against Philip, i, 234. Defeats Philip in the battle of Pheræ, 235. Returns to Rome, and holds a triumph of three days, 247.

Fleet, Roman, first equipment of a, i, 117. Defeats the Carthaginian fleet, 119. Overcomes the navy of Asia, in the war with Antiochus, 259. Three large fleets form a part of the establishment in the time of Augustus, v, 141.

Fregellæ, conspiracy at, suppressed, ii, 10.

Furius, Publius, the tribune, violent death of, ii, 104.

Fulvia, the wife of Antony, in absence of her husband, aspiring to a share of the government, withdraws to Præneste, and raises an army against Octavius, iv, 360. Upon the defeat of Antonius, flies to Brundisium, and embarks for Greece, 374. Her death, 383.

Gabinius, the tribune, his speech in favour of Pompey's pretensions to power, ii, 270. Is involved in Cataline's conspiracy, 335. Holds the government of Syria, iii, 81. Restores Auletes to the throne of Egypt, 82. Upon his return to Rome, is tried for extortion, and forced into exile, 118.

Galatians, the, are reduced by the Roman consul Manlius, i, 265.

Gallus, Asinius, having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Tiberius, is cruelly persecuted by him, v, 340.

Gauls, attack and defeat the Roman army on the Allia, i, 65. Burn the city of Rome, 66. Are routed and dispersed by Camillus, 67. Again rise up against the Romans, but are defeated with great slaughter, 134, 135. Endeavour to defend the passage of the Rhone against Hannibal, but are routed by him, 143. Further wars with the Romans, 229. With Cæsar, iii, 3. First campaign of Cæsar in Gaul, 7—20. Second campaign, 27—36.

Third campaign, 58—64. The Gauls defeat a division of Cæsar's army, 124—126. Are, however, routed by him, 129. He lays waste those countries whose inhabitants had risen against him, 133—136. The Gauls unite in order to expel the Romans, 168. Various events of the war, 169—199. Vercingetorix, the Gaulish leader, is cooped up by Cæsar at Alesia, 187. Comius, another Gaulish leader, advances to his relief, 193; but both are routed by Cæsar, 195. Operations of Cæsar in Gaul in his eighth campaign, 210—217. Antony marches into Gaul against Decimus Brutus, iv, 224. Siege of Mutina, *ib.* Progress of this war, 233—239. Siege of Mutina abandoned by Antony, 255. Gaul divided into four separate governments, v, 152. See *Cæsar. Helvetii. Brittany*, &c.

Gaul, Cisalpine, the inhabitants of, are admitted to the roll of Roman citizens, iii, 341.

Geneva, track of Cæsar's lines at, observations on the, ii, 6. (Note).

Germans. (See *Ariovistus. Cæsar*). Two hordes, the Tenchteri and Usupetes, invade Gaul, iii, 83. Are utterly cut off by Cæsar. 88. The Germans revolt, and defeat the Romans, v, 259—261.

Germanicus Cæsar, eldest son of Drusus, birth of, v, 209. His marriage to Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and Julia, 281. The army of Gaul having revolted against the Emperor Tiberius, offer to place their commander Germanicus on the throne, 283. He rejects their proposal, *ib.*; and quells the mutiny. 285. His operations in Germany, 297—299. Being recalled from thence, is sent to tranquillize the provinces of Asia, 301. Passes into Egypt, *ib.* Upon his return, is taken ill, and dies at Antioch, 302.

Gladiators, first exhibition of, i, 125. Escape and revolt of those at Capua, ii, 237. They at first defeat the Roman consuls, 240. But are finally suppressed by Crassus, 243.

Gracchus, Tiberius, endeavours to revive the agrarian law of Licinius, i, 368. Is opposed by the tribune Octavius, 374. The law is passed, 379. Tiberius attempts to procure his re-election into the tribunate, 384; but is slain in the capitol, and his party dispersed by a body of Senators, 388.

——— Caius, espouses the cause of the Italian allies, ii, 6. Is elected a tribune, 12. Revives the agrarian law, 14. Is re-elected tribune, 20. Urges the admission of all the Italian allies

to the roll of citizens, 22. Endeavours to get himself elected tribune a third time, but is rejected, 25. Is killed in a fray, 28.

Greece. (See *Pyrrhus. Achæan* League), State of Greece, (U. C. 421), i, 105. Philip of Macedonia aspires to the sovereignty of, 230. The Romans expel him, and proclaim liberty to the Grecian States, 240. Treating them, however, as dependants, they make a last, but ineffectual, struggle for liberty, 329—333.

Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, forms a settlement in Spain, i, 140.

Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, succeeds Hasdrubal in commanding the Carthaginians in Spain, i, 140. Reduces Saguntum, 142. War with the Romans being declared, he begins his march towards Italy, 147. Crosses the Pyrenees, 148. Passes the Rhone, 149. Marches up the course of the river Isere, and crosses the Alps, 151. Meets the consul Scipio on the Tecinus in Italy, and defeats the Roman cavalry, 154. Induces the Romans to a general engagement, and defeats them with great slaughter, on the banks of the Trebia, 158. Marches towards Arretium, 162; and defeats the Roman army under Flaminius, on the Lake Thrasimenus, 164. Proceeds towards Apulia, 168. Gains the great battle of Cannæ, 174. Solicits his country in vain for supplies, 182. Advances, by way of feint, to within three miles of Rome, 192. Confines himself to acting on the defensive in Calabria, 194. Upon the invasion of Africa by Scipio, Hannibal is recalled from Italy, 208. Arrives with his army at Hadrumetum in Africa, after having been sixteen years in Italy, 209. Holds a personal conference with Scipio, 212. Is totally routed in the battle of Zama, 217. His great fidelity and ability in various political departments entrusted to him, 245. Upon the arrival of Roman deputies at Carthage, he flies to Antiochus at Syracuse, *ib.* Endeavours to persuade Antiochus to invade Italy, and offers to conduct the enterprise, 252. Upon Antiochus making peace with the Romans, Hannibal, afraid of being delivered up to them, dies by taking poison, 270.

Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, succeeds him in the command of the Carthaginian settlement in Spain, i, 138.

——— the brother of Hannibal, passes the Alps with an army, following his brother's route, i, 191.

Is defeated and slain, with great loss, at the river Metaurus, by the Roman consul, 193.

Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, opposes Scipio in Africa, i, 205. Is surprised in the night by a stratagem of Scipio's, and defeated, 207. Withdraws from the Carthaginian service, with 8000 adherents, *ib.* Is recalled by the Carthaginians to defend their capital, 319. Defeats the Romans, 320.

Hastati, first order in the original Roman legion, i, 91.

Helvetii, propose to migrate from their own country to the plains of Gaul, iii, 4. Are hindered by Cæsar from passing the Rhone, 7. Are partially defeated by him, 8; and soon after finally routed, 11.

Hiero, king of Syracuse, leaves the Carthaginian interest, and attaches himself to the Romans, i, 117. Becomes an ally, and dependant of the Romans, 122.

Hirtius, C. having been named to the consulate by Cæsar, enters on office, iv, 208. Carries on the war against Antony. 251. Is killed in an attempt to raise the siege of Mutina, 254.

Hyrcanus, high-priest of the Jews, having been dispossessed by his younger brother, is restored by Pompey, ii, 294—299.

Ilerda, town of, the armies of Cæsar, and of Pompey, under Afranius, both encamp at, iii, 301.

Illyrians, guilty of piratical depredations, i, 130. The Romans send a deputy to represent against their conduct, 131. Teuta, their Queen, causes the deputy to be assassinated, *ib.* The Romans therefore make war on the Illyrians, and succeed in restraining them, *ib.* In an after war with the Romans, the Illyrians are subdued, their king made prisoner, and their country finally dismembered, 291, 292.

Imperator, the title of, bestowed by the army upon Octavius, v, 152.

Insubres, the Gaulish nation of the, attack the Roman colonies of Cremona and Placentia, i, 229.

Interest of money, 1 *per cent.* only, allowed by the twelve tables of the Romans, i, 44.

Iseré, reasons for believing this to be the river which Hannibal traced up, in his passage of the Alps, i, 151, (Note).

Isola Farnese, probably the site of the capital of ancient Veiæ, i, 62.

Italian allies, state of the, (U. C. 627,) ii, 1. They take arms, and claim to be enrolled as Roman citizens, 121.

Italy, how possessed during the first ages of the Roman State, i,

2. Its limits in those times, 102. Romans become entire masters of, 225.

Janus, the temple of, shut, in token of the Roman State being at peace with all the world, i, 130. Shut by order of Octavius Cæsar, v, 87. Again and again shut by order of the same Emperor, 153 & 156.

Jerusalem, city of, arrival of Pompey at, ii, 294. Siege of the temple, *ib.* Its reduction, 297. Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, 298.

Juba, king of Numidia, on the discomfiture of the republican party in Africa, with whom he had sided, puts an end to his own life, iv, 90.

Judea, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus contend for the sovereignty of, ii, 294. Pompey declares for Hyrcanus, 295. Subdues Judea, and restores Hyrcanus, 299. See *Jerusalem*.

Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa, joins the Romans in Spain against the Numantians, i, 344. Receiving, by will, from his adoptive father Micipsa, a third part of the kingdom of Numidia, he is discontent and aspires to the whole, ii, 36. Cuts off his brother by adoption Hiempsal; and defeats the other brother Adherbal, 37. Puts him also to death, 40. Is supposed to bribe a majority of the Roman Senate to overlook these crimes, *ib.* The Senate being compelled, by the popular indignation, to declare war against him, he endeavours to treat with them, 43. Appears as a suppliant at Rome, 44. Is dismissed from the city, 46. Surprises Aulus Albinus, and seizes his provisions and baggage, 48. Is defeated by Metellus, 51. Being again defeated, flees to Mauritania, 54. Is joined by his father-in-law Bocchus, king of Mauritania; but both are overcome by Marius, 64. Is seized by Bocchus, and delivered up to the Romans, 66. Is brought in chains to Rome, and left to perish in a dungeon, 71.

Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar, is married to Pompey, ii, 416. Her death, iii, 113.

——— daughter of Octavius, is married, *1st*, to Marcellus, v, 145; *2dly*, To Agrippa, 167; and, *3dly*, To Tiberius, 200. Her debaucheries and exile, 224, 225.

Kalendar, Roman, reformed, by direction of Julius Cæsar, and hence called Julian Kalendar, iv, 105.

Latins, or small states of Latium, account of the, i, 1.
Laws of Ten Tables. See *Decemvirs*.
Legion, Roman, account of the arrangement of the, i, 91. Difference between the legion described by Polybius, and that of Cæsar, and conjecture respecting the change, 92, (Note). Roman Legion compared with the Grecian Phalanx, 233. Legion augmented from 5000 to 6000 men, 284.
Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, prætor, his conspiracy in favour of Cataline, ii, 330. Detected by the vigilance of Cicero, 331—336. Lentulus is put to death, 341.
Lepidus, M. Æmilius, supported by the popular faction, is elected consul, ii, 207. Sets out for his province of Transalpine Gaul, and there prepares for war, 208. Arrives in Italy with his army; but is routed at the gates of Rome, 209; and having fled to Sardinia, soon after dies, *ib*.
——— Marcus Æmilius, when prætor, performs the ceremony of naming Cæsar Dictator, iii, 336. On the death of Cæsar, inclines to share the fortunes of Antony, iv, 182. Afterwards, when Antony had been declared by the Senate a rebel, and obliged to pass the Alps, forms a coalition with him, 262. Is denounced as an enemy by the Senate, 264. This sentence is reversed by the influence of Octavius, 284. Forms a confederacy with Antony and Octavius, constituting what has been called the Second Triumvirate, 288. Becomes the tool of these leaders, 291. Is overlooked in a new partition of the empire by Octavius and Antony, 352. In the subsequent troubles, adheres to Octavius, 368. Is sent, by Octavius, to Africa, as governor of that province, in order to remove him from Italy, 380. Claims Sicily as an appendage to his province, 425. Is supplanted in the command of the army, by Octavius himself, 429. Being thus disgraced, is allowed to retire to Italy, and live in private, *ib*. His death, v, 195.
Lex Canuleia, allowing the intermarriage of Plebeians with Patricians, passed, i, 52.
——— Licinia, limiting the extent of land estates, first proposed, i, 75. Revived by Tiberius Gracchus, 368.
——— Tribonia, restricting the expences of the table, adopted, i, 298.
——— Sempronia, respecting the equal division of lands, passed, i, 379. Revived, ii, 14.

Lex Sempronia judiciaria, excluding senators from being judges, and restricting the office to the equestrian order, ii, 21.
—— Cæcilia Didia, respecting the manner of enacting laws, ii, 106.
—— Falcidia, respecting last wills, iv, 401.
Libo, Scribonius, encouraged by astrologers, entertains pretensions to the throne of Cæsar, v, 289—292.
Licinian law, first proposed, i, 75. Revived by Tiberius Gracchus, 368. Carried into execution, 396.
Licinius, the Consul, sails to Epirus, to attack the Macedonian monarchy, i, 280. Is partially defeated, 281.
Liguria, conquered by the Romans, i, 267.
Liliæ, in the Roman outworks, what, iii, 189.
Line of the Roman army, appears usually to have drawn up ten men deep, iii, 390.
Literature, first dawning of, among the Romans, i, 301. Patronized by Mæcenas, iv, 355.
Livia Drusilla, is separated from her husband Tiberius Claudius Nero, and married by the Emperor Augustus, iv, 403. Manifests great zeal for the advancement of her son Tiberius by the first marriage, v, 199, & 238. On the death of Augustus, Tiberius accordingly succeeds to the empire, 271. Death of Livia, 341.
Livilla, daughter of Drusus Germanicus, is married to Drusus, the son of the Emperor Tiberius, v, 324. She basely unites with Sejanus in poisoning her husband, *ib.* On the fall of Sejanus, the crime is discovered, and involves Livilla in ruin, 354.
Livy, his frequent inattention to *place* in the composition of his history, i, 151, (Note).
Lollius, in the time of Augustus, is defeated by the German nations, the Sicambri, Usupetes, and Tenchteri, v, 185.
Lucullus, consul, is opposed to Mithridates in Asia, ii, 228. Defeats his army near Cyzicus, 230. Totally routs him at the plains of Cabira, 231, 232. Mithridates having fled to Armenia, Lucullus demands that he should be delivered up, but is refused, 254. Lucullus marches into Armenia, and defeats Tigranes, 256. Invests Tigranocerta, 257. Routs the Armenian army, *ib.* Takes the city, 258. A mutiny breaks out in the Roman army, 261. Mithridates, encouraged by this circumstance, again has recourse to hostilities, 263. Lucullus is superseded by Pompey, 282. After

waiting three years without the gates, Lucullus obtains a triumph at Rome, 357.

Macedonia, conquered by the Romans, i, 291. The crown is claimed by Andriscus, an impostor, 329. Macedonia is reduced to the form of a Roman province, *ib.* See *Philip. Perseus.*

Mæcenas, Caius Cilnius, becomes of the council of Octavius, iv, 355. Grants his protection to the poet Virgil, 356, (Note). During the absence of Octavius in Asia, presides in the civil department of the administration at Rome, v, 51. Dissuades Octavius from resigning the sovereignty, 101. Death and character of Mæcenas, 215—217.

Mælius, Sp. aiming at dominion in the commonwealth, is put to death, i, 58.

Manlius (Capitolinus) bravely defends the capitol against the Gauls for six months, i, 67. Is afterwards accused of aspiring to regal dignity, 72; and put to death, 73.

Manlius, the consul, marches against and reduces the Galatians, i, 265.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, consul, defeats Hannibal at Nola, i, 181. Reduces Syracuse, 194.

——— Marcus Claudius, the successful competitor with Cato, for the consulate, proposes to the senate to recall Cæsar from Gaul, iii, 206. Again urges the recall, 232 and 242.

——— Caius Claudius, elected to the consulship, iii, 230. On the approach of Julius Cæsar towards Rome, delivers his sword, as consul, into the hands of Pompey, 249.

——— the nephew of Octavius, and first husband of his daughter Julia, is allowed to sue for the consulate ten years before the legal age, v, 154. Holds the office of ædile, *ib.* His death, 160.

Marius, Caius, his first appearance, ii, 32. Is elected consul, 56. Admits into the legions the necessitous citizens, hitherto excluded, 57. Arrives in Africa, to prosecute the war against Jugurtha, 58. Defeats him, 63. Is re-elected consul, 72. Returns in triumph to Rome, 71. Sets out for Gaul, to watch the Cimbri, 72. Is elected consul a third time, 83; and a fourth time, 85. Routs one division of the barbarians, at Aquæ Sextiæ, with great slaughter, 86. Is elected consul for the fifth time, *ib.* Assists Catulus in routing the other division of the barbarians, in

Italy, 89. Has a triumph along with Catulus, 90. Gets himself elected consul for the sixth time, 92. Unites his interest to that of the tribune Saturninus, 93. Afterwards acts in concert with Publius Sulpicius, 135. Upon the arrival of Sylla, with his army, at Rome, escapes, and encounters many difficulties, 139. Returns, and joins himself to Cinna, 155. Is admitted into Rome, 159. Horrid scenes of murder which follow, 160. He assumes the office of consul without any election, 163. His death, 164.

Marius, the younger, opposes Sylla, ii, 173. Is defeated at Prænesté, 178. Kills himself, 181.

Maro, Publius Virgilius, threatened with expulsion from his rural possessions to make room for the soldiers of Octavius, is protected by Mæcenas, iv, 356. (Note).

Marseilles, the city of, having declared for Pompey, Cæsar invests it, iii, 208. Defeat of the Marseillian fleet, 308 & 329. Progress of the siege of Marseilles, 330—331. Second naval defeat, 332. The city is yielded up to Cæsar, who exercises no severity whatever, 336.

Masinissa, upon being disappointed of the love of Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, joins the Roman army in Africa, against the Carthaginians, i, 203. Dispossesses Syphax, and ascends the Numidian throne, 207. Afterwards withdraws from the Roman interest, 321.

Massacre ordered by Sylla, ii, 182. By Octavius, Antony and Lepidus, iv, 295.

Memmius, Caius, concerts with Ahenobarbus to forge an edict of senate in their own favour, iii, 121. Exposes the daring transaction in presence of the senate, 122.

Merula, L. Cornelius, elected consul in place of Cinna, ii, 157.

——— priest of Jupiter, his boldness in death, ii, 161. Also v, 206.

Mesopotamia. See *Crassus*.

Messina, the possession of, disputed between the Carthaginians and the Romans, i, 115.

Metellus Macedonicus, Quintus Cæcilius, the censor, arbitrarily ordered by Labeo to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, i, 398. But saved by the interposition of another tribune, 399.

——— Numidicus, Q. Cæcilius, is elected consul, ii, 49. Defeats Jugurtha in Africa, 51. Opposes the faction of Marius and Sa-

turninus, and is forced into exile, 98. Is recalled by the Roman people, 102; and again elected to the consulate, 106.

Metellus Pius, Q. Cæcilius, son of the former, joins Sylla upon his arrival in Italy, ii, 174. Defeats the army of Carbo, 178. Is elected consul along with Sylla, 194. Conducts the war against Sertorius in Spain, 214. Being joined by Pompey, the war is successfully terminated, 217; and the generals obtain a joint triumph, 246.

——— Creticus, Q. Cæcilius, a relation of the former, is raised to the consulate along with Hortensius, ii, 253. The Cretans having involved themselves in a war with the Romans, Metellus sets out for the island of Crete, *ib.* Reduces the Cretans, and is thence named Creticus, 281. Obtains a triumph at Rome, 357.

——— Nepos the tribune, proposes to invite Pompey and his army to Rome, ii, 359; but his motion is overruled, 362. Flees, in disappointment, to the camp of Pompey, 363.

——— Cornelius Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey. See *Scipio*, Metellus.

Milo, tribune, prosecutes Clodius for his crimes, iii, 25. Opposes the election of Clodius as ædile, 46. Is accused by Clodius of breaches of the peace; but acquitted on trial, 48. A fray occurring between the attendants of Milo and of Clodius, the latter is killed, 148. Milo is tried for his murder, 159; and being condemned, retires in exile to Marseilles, *ib.* Upon the usurpation of Cæsar, attempts to take possession of Capua for the Republic; but his party is cut off by Cæsar's forces, iv, 12.

Minutius Rufus is associated with Fabius Maximus the Pro-dictator, in opposing Hannibal, i, 170.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, involves himself in a war with the Romans, ii, 132. Orders a general massacre of the Roman citizens in Asia, 147. His army is defeated by Sylla near Chæronea, 150; and afterwards at Orchomenos, 152. He treats with Sylla, 167. Afterwards joins Sertorius, and prepares to make war on the Romans, 212. Declares war, and takes possession of Cappadocia and Phrygia, 225. Overruns Bithynia, 229. Lays siege to the town of Cyzicus, but is soon obliged to raise the siege, *ib.* His army is destroyed or dispersed by Lucullus, 230. Mithridates collects a new army, 231. Is totally routed by Lucullus, 232. Orders his women to be put to death, to prevent their falling into

the hands of the Romans, 233. His flight to Armenia, 234. The Roman troops having become mutinous, Mithridates again makes head against them, 263. But is routed by Pompey, 288. Forms plans once more to renew the war, 299. But fearing that his own people meant to deliver him up to the Romans, puts a period to his life, 301. His character, 303.

Mons Sacer, secession of a great body of Plebeians to the, immediately after the dictatorship of Valerius, i, 23.

Mummius, the Roman consul, reduces Corinth, i, 336.

Munda, battle of, in which Cæsar defeats the sons of Pompey, iv, 112.

Mutina, the siege of, by Antony, iv, 208. Battle at, in which the consul Hirtius is killed, 254. Abandonment of the siege by Antony, 255.

Nabis, tyrant of Lacedemon, curbed by the Romans, i, 242.

Nasica, Scipio, overthrows the faction of Tiberius Gracchus, i, 388.

Naval engagement between the Roman and Carthaginian fleets, i, 119; between the Roman fleet and that of Antiochus, 259; between the Roman and Egyptian fleets at Actium, iv, 45—48.

Navy, Roman, origin of the, i, 118.

Nero, Tiberius Claudius, upon the defeat of the party of Antony, retires into Sicily, with Livia his wife, iv, 372. Livia is separated from him, and married by the Emperor Octavius, 403.

—— Tiberius Claudius, son of the former, and stepson of Augustus. See *Tiberius*.

—— Domitius Ahenobarbus, adopted son of the Emperor Claudius, succeeds to the sovereignty, v, 380. His weakness and folly, 381; and death, 382.

Nervii, the, one of the Belgic nations, resolve to oppose Cæsar, iii, 32. Are routed by him, 34.

Nobles and Commons, distinction of, among the Romans, i, 361.

Nonius, Sufenas, elected tribune, but immediately afterwards slain by the faction of Saturninus, ii, 94.

Norbanus, C. Junius, consul, defeated by Sylla, ii, 175. Afterwards, to avoid being delivered up, kills himself, 186.

Numantia, in Spain, obstinate resistance made by the inhabitants against the Romans, i, 341. Siege of this stronghold, 344. Its reduction by famine, 347.

Numidia. (See *Syphax*). Contest for the crown of, ii, 36. (See *Jugurtha*). Death of Juba, iv, 98. Numidia becomes a Roman province, 91.

Oaths, sacredness of, among the Romans, i, 300.

Octavia, sister to Octavius Cæsar, and widow of Marcellus, is married to Mark Antony, iv, 383. Impatient of neglect, and jealous of Cleopatra, she goes to Greece to meet her husband on his return from Egypt, v, 19. By the arts of Cleopatra, Antony is induced to forbid his wife's advance to the East, 20. Her prudent conduct upon this affront, 21. Her death, 207.

Octavius, M. the tribune, opposes the revival of the Licinian law by Gracchus, i, 374. Is therefore degraded from the tribunate by the faction of Gracchus, 379.

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——— Sextus, younger son of Pompey the Great, holds out, in the province of Sicily, against the usurpations of the second triumvirate, iv, 314. Calculates on securing the possession of Sicily and Sardinia as a patrimony independent of Rome, 367. On the rupture between Octavius and Antony, joins himself to the latter, 379. Upon the reconciliation of these leaders, Pompeius continues to harass them, by blocking up the ports of Italy, 387. Is invited to a personal conference with them, 388; which ends in a treaty of peace, 389. He returns to Sicily, 392. Octavius having repudiated his wife, Scribonia, the sister of Pompeius, and Sardinia having been treacherously delivered up to Octavius, Pompeius prepares for war, 404. Defeats Octavius at sea, 407. Is defeated in his turn by Agrippa, 417. Destroys the transports of Octavius at Taurominium, *ib.* His own fleet is, however, totally defeated by Agrippa, near to Naulochus, 421. His flight to Lesbos, 423. He sues for protection from Antony, v, 15; who refuses it, and, having got him in his power, orders him to be put to death, 16.

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